

From El Salvador to the Libyan Jamahiriya

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August 1981

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BEIGIN'S MASSACRE IN BEIRUT

Special 8 page report
and analysis
of the Zionist war
in the Lebanon.



MASSACRE IN BEIRUT

17th July 1981



"A VISION of the apocalypse," was how one French journalist described the scene in Beirut in the aftermath of the Zionist bombing raid on 17th July, in which more than 300 civilians were killed, and hundreds more seriously injured.

A special report and commentary appears in a supplement to this issue starting on page 11.

jamahiriya review

Issue No 15

August 1981

A special supplement in this issue reports the July 1981 confrontation between the Palestinians and the Zionists. The reasons for the Zionist attack are examined in a report on page 12, which links the timing of the Beirut bombing raid with Arab efforts to reach a settlement to the Lebanese problem, and which pointed to a break in ties between the Phalangists and the Israelis.

More than 300 civilians died in the Beirut attack, and hundreds more were injured. A report on page 11 reviews eye witness accounts of the raid filed by western newspaper correspondents in the Lebanese capital, while on page 18 Dr. Alan George looks at the terrorist record of Zionist premier Beigin, which spans more than three decades from Deir Yassin in 1948 to the latest outrages.

The continuing Israeli attacks against the Arab nation have been made possible only by massive arms supplies from the United States. A report on page 15 shows the Zionist state receives more than half of the US worldwide military and economic aid programme. On page 17 a report examines the reaction in the Arab homeland to the latest Zionist aggressions, and the comments of Libya's leader Muammer Qadhafi.

Despite strong US pressure to isolate the Libyan Jamahiriya, the OAU summit in Nairobi responded favourably to a series of Libyan initiatives aimed at stability in Africa. By the end of the summit, American influence in Africa had received a series of defeats, as Phil Kelly explains on page 19.

A joint Israeli-Egyptian scheme for the invasion of Libya has been unmasked. A report on page 9 looks at the details of the plan, and the growing division between the US and Europe over relations with the Libyan Jamahiriya.

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EDITORIAL

Lebanon: The lessons of the Second Ramadan War .. 4

PANORAMA NEWS REVIEW

Qadhafi backs ceasefire in interests of civilians	5
Anti-Libyan claims are cover for US African activities	5
Qadhafi continues efforts to unite Arab ranks	5
Tripoli and Tunis set foundations for goods relations	6
Zionist colonies follow Beigin's land grab	6
Year of Disabled seminar planned	6
Exploitation is key to US foreign policy	6
Missile craft add strength to Libyan navy	7
Palestinians look to military role	7
Rwanda Islamic Centre opens	7
US Senator attacks Zionist lobby	7
Switzerland arms Sadat	7
Shazli speaks out: 'Sadat's betrayal'	8
OPEC aid record outshines the West	8
Rights of Palestinian dead violated	8

NEWS REPORTS

Plan for invasion of Libya unmasked	9
Europe does not accept US position on Libya	10

SPECIAL REPORT/COVER STORY

Beigin orders the killing of women and children	11
The real reasons for the Zionist carnage in Beirut	12
The American arms that kill the Arabs	15
Arab leaders point to American role	17
Qadhafi sends Open Letter to Arab Heads of State	17
The hand of Deir Yassin strikes the heart of Beirut	18

AFRO-ARAB NEWS REPORTS

Triumph for the Jamahiriya at African summit	19
Africans slam US support of apartheid	20
Tuesday Market sets the style for Libyan shoppers	21
Egyptian opposition faces Sadat crackdown	22
Numeiri's regime watches the country disintegrate	23

BOOKS

Cyprus: The search for national unity	24
---	----

LIBYAN TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT NEWS

Industrial cities of the Jamahiriya	
3. Marsa Brega: From oil terminal to petro-chemical giant	25
Libyan oil price cut will aid Third World	26
Arabs defy America and lend to Fiat	26
\$500 million investment in steel projects	26
British success in telecommunications	26
Boost for Libyan-Austrian ties	26
LAA opens Madrid office	26
New port for Sirte	26
Success for Turkish construction firms	27
Cyprus receives major clothing order	27
Taiwan wins industrial contracts	27
Tripoli water project gets underway	27

COVER PHOTOS: A human tragedy in Beirut, when hundreds died during Israel's 17th July air attack on the Lebanese capital. Photos supplied by the London Office of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Lebanon: The lessons of the Second Ramadan War

THE ZIONISTS and the United States have emerged defeated at the end of the July 1981 Ramadan War. For the first time in the long struggle for Arab rights in Palestine, both the Zionists and the Americans have come under heavy criticism from international opinion, including voices in Western Europe and within the United States itself. The war may not be won, the intrigues and conspiracies against the Palestinian people may continue, but an important psychological breakthrough has resulted, which is more profound and important than that credited to the 1973 Ramadan War when the Arab nation crossed the Suez Canal and pushed back the Zionist occupation forces from Arab territory.

The Palestinian dimension of the Middle East conflict is now better recognised. There appears to be in the western mind, for the first time, a serious questioning of Zionist policies towards the Palestinian Arabs, and the role of the United States in aiding Israel with the arms and equipment to attack and kill the Palestinian Arabs. Nevertheless, it is disturbing that certain Arab rulers remain opposed to coming to terms with reality.

There are three lessons to be gained from the 1981 Ramadan War:

1. Stability and security in the Arab homeland will remain under threat from military aggressions so long as the Zionist state exists. In less than a month two Arab capitals, Baghdad and Beirut, have been the targets of an Israeli military assault. If the West does not act to clip the wings of the Zionists, it should not howl in indignation if Arab oil fields are the target of Israel's next military adventure. As we report in this issue, Israel has already prepared plans with its Egyptian partner, for the military invasion of Libya.

2. The Palestinians, with their Lebanese allies, have shown that Israel can be confronted on the battlefield, and that victory can be achieved. In the July confrontation it was the Zionists who lost the battle on both the political and military levels. If Beigin's aim was to crush the Palestinians' military capability, he has suffered a major military defeat. Faced with the Palestinians' ability to mobilise and strike back, Beigin was forced to accept a ceasefire. The chain of the Palestinian military command was unshaken despite heavy land, sea and air attack. Destroyed bridges were replaced within hours, and rocket attacks continued to hit at Zionist settlements in occupied Palestine.

3. The most important lesson, however, is to recognise the role of the United States in this battle for Arab rights and dignity. The Palestinians are fighting American weapons in the hands of the Zionists; the plan to eliminate the Palestinian resistance movement was conceived in Washington, and set

in motion by the Reagan administration. And it is the United States which protects the Zionist state from political and economic sanctions under the aegis of the United Nations Security Council.

The question which is unanswered, but which nevertheless remains pertinent and demands an answer, is how much longer will Arab regimes which pay lip service to the Palestinian cause continue to betray their Arab brothers by openly assisting the Washington administration with oil supplies and petro-dollar investments in the American economy.

This is not simply a question which has to be considered in the Arab capitals; it is one which the American people must consider. If they wish to be in an alliance with the Zionists, the decision is theirs. But they should be aware of the consequences of the American alliance with the Zionist war machine.

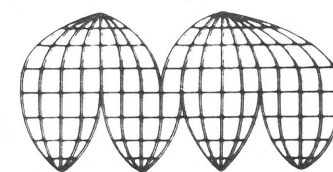
The war for the liberation of Palestine is not one of vengeance. It is a struggle for justice and basic human rights, as the resolutions of the United Nations recognise and legitimise. The Zionist regimes in occupied Palestine, whether led by the Israeli Labour Party, which ruled for thirty years from 1948, or the Likud Bloc of Menachem Beigin, have imposed a political and ideological system which denies the Palestinian Arabs, both Christian and Muslim, their fundamental human rights. They are given a status of inferior and subjugated citizens in their own land. It cannot be otherwise in a Zionist system, where a Jewish state is created artificially in a land where the majority of the indigenous population is Christian or Muslim.

When the Palestinians and their allies and friends speak of the elimination of the Zionist state, the Zionists quickly claim that this means the elimination of Jewish people; a holocaust recreated. It is, of course, an important propaganda claim of the Zionists. The Zionists make such claims to disguise the brutality of the system they have created. It is designed to conceal the fact that the Palestine problem has been created by Zionism, and will remain a problem so long as a state exists which is based on Zionist discrimination and oppression.

The Second World War was fought to eliminate the Nazi state. It was not fought to massacre the German people. The liberation war in southern Africa is being fought, and widely supported by progressive people in the Western nations, to eliminate the apartheid state. It is not directed against white people simply because they are white. In Palestine the goals of the liberation struggle are not directed against individuals, but against the political and ideological system.

The immorality of the Zionist system lies behind the decision of the Beigin regime to launch the genocidal 17th July attack on Beirut. In its moral bankruptcy, the Zionist system is unable to provide moral and political options, and thinks only in military and oppressive terms.

A monthly review of
Libyan, Islamic
and Third World
affairs



PANORAMA
news review

Qadhafi backs ceasefire in interests of all civilians

THE CEASEFIRE announced by the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Zionist leader Menachem Beigin after a week's heavy fighting in Lebanon and northern areas of occupied Palestine has been widely welcomed. Its announcement marked an important, though private, shift in US policy towards the PLO. Although Washington continues to refuse to recognise the PLO or to negotiate with it, the ceasefire terms give *de facto* recognition to the PLO as a party to the conflict.

Meanwhile, in Tripoli, the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi told the Libyan News Agency, JANA, on 23rd July, that the Palestinians are honour-bound to fight the Israeli occupation forces, but, he added, they should avoid civilian targets.

'The Palestinians are under no obligation to stop fighting so long as their land is occupied, because this contradicts their national duty and honour. But, the Palestinians should avoid civilian targets, if the Israelis stop their air and sea raids and shelling of Lebanese towns and Palestinian camps,' the Libyan leader said.

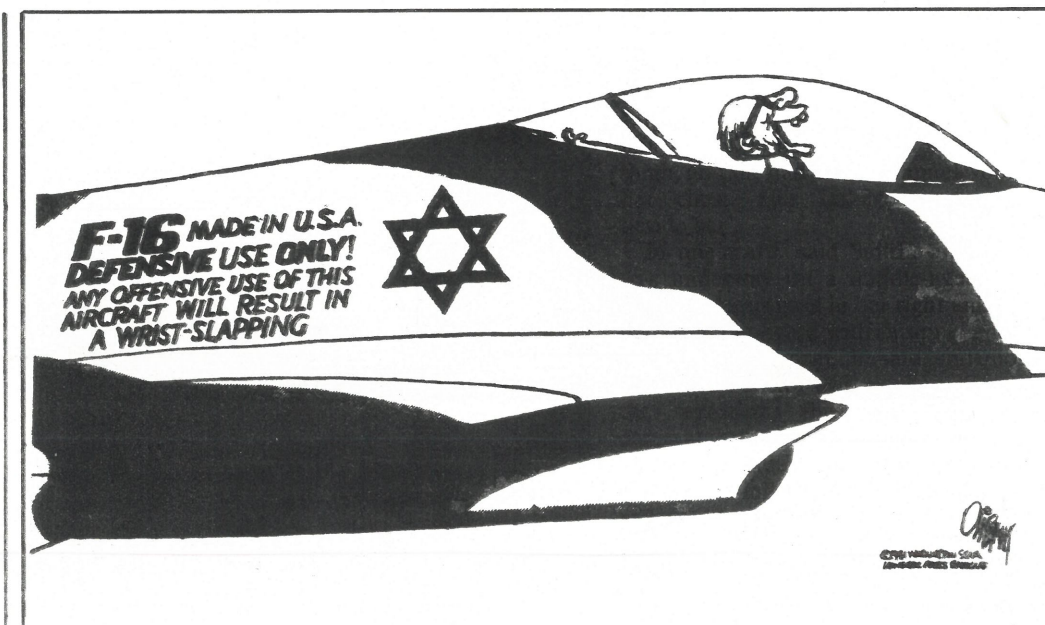
A special 8 page supplement on the Lebanon war starts on page 11.

Anti-Libyan claims are cover for US African activities

LIBYA HAS rejected US charges that the Jamahiriya is pursuing an expansionist policy against African countries. The rejection came on 10th July from the Secretary of the Administrative Committee for Revolutionary Information in Tripoli, Mr Ibrahim al Bishari. He was responding to testimony given the previous day in Washington to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, by the Assistant US Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Chester Crocker.

Mr Crocker said that the US was offering help to African countries threatened by Libya.

Mr Bishari said that Crocker's statements came at a time when



the US administration was pursuing a hostile terrorist campaign against Libya, because the US knew that Libyan policies are a bulwark against US colonialism in the Arab region and Africa.

'It is the USA that carries out sabotage activities in Africa and who intends to intervene there under the cover of what he calls "countering Libyan expansionism",' said Bishari.

The Libyan official pointed out that the African countries which Crocker claims are exposed to Libyan threat are independent countries. 'They did not ask the USA for the favour of speaking on their behalf. Those statements, in themselves, are an interference

in Africa's internal affairs and a violation of the sovereignty of these countries,' Mr Bishari added.

Mr Bishari pointed out that those who threaten the African states are the racists of South Africa, who are openly getting every kind of economic, military and political support from the US administration. People should ask themselves, Bishari continued, 'Who is following an expansionist policy in Africa and the world? Who is making threats and creating destruction in the world?'

'Is it Libya?' he asked, 'the country which supports the causes of freedom, develops its economic and social capabilities and wants to live in peace? Or is it the USA with her military bases and fleets which besiege the whole continent and her rapid deployment forces and multi-national corporations that drain the economic resources of the developing countries?'

Qadhafi continues efforts to unite Arab ranks

THE INITIATIVE of the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi to unite the ranks of the Arab nation against the threats posed by Israel and the United States continue to receive support from other Arab leaders. In stark

contrast to US claims that Libya is isolated in the Arab world, support for his initiative has come from radical and conservative rulers.

During June, Libya restored diplomatic relations with Morocco, and set in motion a series of high level talks aimed at resolving differences with other Arab states, notably Iraq. Central to the Libyan initiative has been the PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, who toured the Arab homeland as a mediator on behalf of the Libyan leader.

Mr Arafat's tour was followed by visits to Syria, Jordan and Iraq by Staff Major Abdul Salem Jalloud, a close aide of Qadhafi's, and former Libyan Prime Minister. Subsequently, Jalloud also visited Moscow and Belgrade as part of Libya's efforts to counter US penetration in the Arab homeland by seeking greater co-operation and support from Eastern Europe.

In the wake of the rapprochement between Libya and Morocco, Muammer Qadhafi has held lengthy telephone talks with Jordan's King Hussein and Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Moreover, it is reported that Kuwait is now working to resolve the rift between Libya and Saudi Arabia which resulted from the stationing of US AWACS on Saudi territory. Libya now sees its criticism as being vindicated by the Zionist raid against Baghdad, which violated Saudi air space without the AWACS providing the Saudis with any warning of the attack.



Muammer Qadhafi



The intimidating vista of Zionist settlements on Palestinian land seized in 1967. Despite the clear violation of the Geneva Conventions, the Zionists are pressing ahead. See item 'Zionist colonies follow Beigin's land grab'.

On 30th June, the President of the United Arab Emirates, Sheikh Zayed, arrived in Libya for talks with Muammar Qadhafi. He praised the Libyan efforts to solve differences amongst the Arabs and strengthen Arab unity. Libyan Jamahiriya radio in a commentary said the two leaders share the same views about the necessity to keep the Arab region and the Gulf free of super power rivalries and US military bases. In Abu Dhabi, the UAE capital, local newspapers have welcomed the Libyan initiative.

On 13th July, Tripoli hosted visits from two other Arab leaders, Syria's President Assad and Palestine's Yasser Arafat. Both leaders held lengthy talks with Muammar Qadhafi, with Mr Arafat briefing the Libyan leader on the results of his tour of Arab states.

In Washington, the Reagan administration is clearly dismayed by the success of Qadhafi's initiative, with the State Department continuing almost daily its claims of Libyan isolation in the Arab homeland.

Tripoli and Tunis set foundations for good relations

THE RIFT which has characterised Tunisian-Libyan relations in recent years now appears to be healed with the signing of a wide-ranging co-operation agreement between the two countries in early July. The friendly ties which now exist between the two neighbouring states contrast sharply with the claims being made in Washington of Libyan interference in, and threats to, Tunisia.

While US State Department statements continue to cast relations between Libya and Tunisia as being in a state of confrontation, officials in the two countries have been quietly laying the foundations for greater political and economic co-operation. A meeting of the Libyan-Tunisian Joint Committee reached agreement on 1st July on co-operation in all economic and technical fields, including exchanges of expertise and labour, overland communications and electricity supplies.

Mr Abu Zaid Durda, the Secretary for the General People's Committee for the Economy in the Jamahiriya, signed on behalf of Libya, and pointed out that his country's imports from Tunisia now total \$100 million a year. The Tunisian Economy Minister, Mr Abdulaziz al Asram expressed his country's appreciation of the growth in trade between the two countries, and added that Tunisia gives high priority to the development of exports to Libya. He hoped that joint ventures between the two countries would be developed.

The scene was set for closer ties between the two countries when in the spring of 1980 the Tunisian government of Hadi Nouria was replaced by a new, and more progressive, administration headed by Mr Muhammed Mzala. The move was publicly welcomed in Tripoli, and was seen as heralding the end of tensions between the two states brought about by Nouria's claims that Libya had been behind the civil uprising in the town of Gafsa in January 1980. Libya denied the allegations, and no evidence to support Nouria's charges was ever produced.

At the end of last year, Premier Mzala addressed a call to Libya for closer relations, and repeated

an earlier invitation for Libya's then Foreign Secretary, Dr Ali Abdel Salam Treiki to visit Tunis. On 22nd January this year, Dr Treiki, now Foreign Affairs Liaison Secretary, held talks in Tunis with Premier Mzala. The conclusion of the co-operation agreement marks the culmination of this process, and signals a return to complete normality, despite US claims to the contrary.

Zionist colonies follow Beigin's land grab

MENACHIM BEIGIN'S pledge to build more Zionist settlements on the occupied West Bank once he returns to power was hardly necessary. After the mass land expropriations earlier this year, the bulldozers have now begun their work in paving the way for more colonies.

The 2,500 acre Jabal al Tawil area, which lies inside the municipal boundaries of el-Bireh, was given over to settlers in early July for the establishment of the new Mteir Benyamin colony. The land was closed off last year, allegedly for 'security reasons'. On 10th July, work began on a new Zionist settlement to the north of Bir Zeit, near Ramallah, despite the fact that a petition by the villagers against the confiscation has yet to be decided on by the Israeli Supreme Court.

As Beigin prepares for a new round of the moribund 'autonomy' negotiations, a new campaign is under way to create a substitute West Bank leadership since, as the Palestine News Agency, Wafa, puts it, 'the municipalities have been so remiss in the role assigned to them by the Camp David accords'.

After appointing their own candidate to replace the deceased Mayor of Jericho, the Zionist authorities on 10th July proceeded to arrest the mayor of Qalqilya for allegedly throwing a molotov cocktail at the café of a known collaborator in the town. Another prominent councillor opposing the latest Israeli campaign was earlier dismissed from his post without any reason being given.

Year of Disabled seminar planned

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is to host an international seminar on the problems faced by handicapped people between 27th September and 4th October. Organised by the Libyan National Committee for the Handicapped and to be convened in Tripoli, the seminar will concentrate on the rehabilitation of the handicapped, including the role the family can play. Also scheduled for discussion is the way in which public utilities can be adapted to cater for the needs of handicapped people.

The Libyan Jamahiriya has a particular concern for the handicapped in view of the thousands of Libyans who have been maimed by accidentally detonating some of the thousands of mines and bombs that were left in the country after the Second World War. It was the Jamahiriya that in 1977 proposed that 1981 be designated as United Nations International Year of the Disabled.

Exploitation is key to US foreign policy

REPRESENTATIVES OF the Libyan Jamahiriya and El Salvador shared a press conference platform in London on 3rd July with British Labour MP Mr Ernie Ross to mark the publication of a new report on US foreign policy entitled *From El Salvador to the Libyan Jamahiriya*.

US foreign policy is based on imposing American power and control throughout the world by the use of military force, the press conference was told.

Mr Ross said that the United States now maintains half a million servicemen in 2,500 military bases overseas to defend the worldwide profits of imperialism. 'Overseas earnings are now the main feature in the big business balance sheet,' he said. 'In 1978 they made £22 billion profits from under-developed countries, and the interest paid by the under-developed countries to the World

Bank went from £3 billion in 1970 to £25 billion last year.'

The press conference was organised to provide an opportunity for progressive spokesmen from the Third World to put their views to the press. Dr Omar Sodani of the People's Committee of the Libyan People's Bureau in London accused the US government of using the word 'terrorist' to describe anyone they wanted to label as an enemy. 'There are still people who think that US policy is to fight communism, but in fact it has a policy which is aimed at the Third World countries and the national liberation movements,' said Dr Sodani.

'Lucho' from the El Salvador Solidarity Campaign spoke of the 8,000 people killed in his country in the last three months, by the regime backed by American military advisors.

'We are trying to negotiate a peaceful solution for the Salvadorian people, and the Socialist International recently undertook a fresh initiative, but it was rejected by the junta,' he said. 'In 1972 we won the election but couldn't get into the government. In 1977 we won again despite heavy repression and still couldn't get into the government, so how can one say we can participate in elections in the present situation.'

The author of the report, Mr Louis Eaks, told the press conference, 'One of the most disturbing aspects of American foreign policy is that it is based only on military options. Everything is seen in military terms, and in terms of imposing the power and control of the US on the rest of the world through the use of its military presence.'

He added, 'That kind of approach in international politics is no longer valid. It is a provocation aimed at a new world thirty years after World War II, and a new war in a nuclear age is going to involve the whole world.'

Missile craft add strength to Libyan navy

TWO NEW missile craft have been added to the Libyan navy, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA reported on 14th June. The vessels are the *Asad al Khalij* (Lion of the Gulf), and the *Asad al Hudud* (Lion of the Borders). The commissioning of the new ships comes only weeks after the addition to the Libyan fleet of a submarine and two minesweepers. On 30th March, the anniversary of the evacuation of British military bases in Libya, the submarine *Al Mitraqah* (the Hammer), and the minesweepers *Al I'sar* (the Hurri-

cane) and *At Tayyar* (the Current) were commissioned.

Even the Zionists have been forced to acknowledge the growing naval power of the Jamahiriya. On the occasion of the Zionist state's Navy Day in June, Israeli radio and television broadcast interviews with the commander of the Zionists' navy who remarked that in the space of only a very few years Libya had emerged as a naval power capable of threatening Israel.

Palestinians look to military role

THE FAILURE of the EEC to adopt an independent initiative on the Palestine question, coupled with the stand of the Reagan administration in supporting Zionist aggressions against the Arabs in Palestine, Lebanon and Iraq, has led to a renewed determination by the Palestine Liberation Organisation to pursue its struggle by military means.

'This is not the time for peace initiatives,' Hani al Hasan, the political advisor to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, told the Beirut weekly *Monday Morning* on 12th

July. He predicted that the PLO would focus its attention on military action instead of political action during the coming year. The PLO would look to the Soviet Union for support.

The PLO official's comments further underline the increasing Arab alignment with the USSR in recent months. Arab leaders visiting Moscow have included Libya's Muammar Qadhafi and Jordan's King Hussein, and it has also been reported that Kuwait is now looking to the Soviets for new military equipment.

Mr al Hasan added, 'Washington will be wasting its time if it is hoping to persuade the PLO to recognise Israel in return for US recognition of the PLO.'

Rwanda Islamic Centre opens

UNDER THE patronage of Rwanda President Juvenal Habyarimana, the first Islamic cultural centre set up by the joint United Arab Emirates-Libyan Authority for Islamic Cultural Centres was opened in the African state's capital, Kigali, on 3rd June. The centre includes a school complex, mosques, a hostel, a lecture hall and a clinic.



A new generation of Palestinians are ready to fight for the liberation of their occupied homeland. See report: 'Palestinians look to military role'.

US Senator attacks Zionist lobby

SENATOR CHARLES Mathias of Maryland has broken ranks with his colleagues by attacking the influence of the American Zionist lobby which, he says, subjects congressmen to 'recurrent pressures' and applies 'political sanctions to any who fail to deliver.'

Zionist groups in Maryland have denounced the Senator's views, which appeared in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*, a quarterly scholarly journal published by the Council on Foreign Relations.

Mathias cites the 'Letter of 76' senators in 1975 strongly opposing a Ford-Kissinger 'reassessment' of US policy towards Israel following the breakdown of the Sinai disengagement talks, and strongly endorsing the Zionist position. He says the campaign was mounted by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). Senators were asked to affix their signatures to the letter, says Mathias, 'although no hearings had been held, no debate conducted, nor had the administration been invited to present its views'. One senator was reported to have explained his signature thus: 'It's easier to sign one letter than to answer 5,000.'

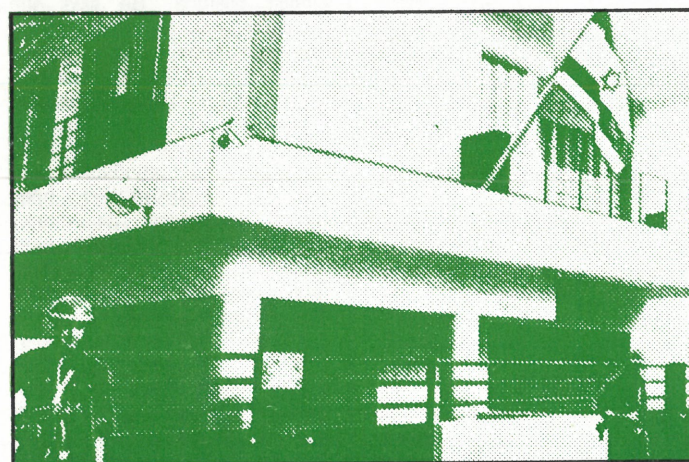
Although there have been other attacks on the American Zionist lobby, this is the first from a prominent member of Congress, at least since that launched by former Senator Fulbright. His criticism of the lobby prompted it to exert such effective pressures that he was voted out of office.

Switzerland arms Sadat

SWITZERLAND HAS concluded a \$300 million arms deal with the Sadat regime for the supply of anti-aircraft weapons. The deal has the tacit support of Israel because the sale went ahead on the strict understanding that the weapons were for installation only on Egypt's frontier with the Libyan Jamahiriya. Despite the Camp David accords, Israel continues to keep a close watch on Egyptian arms purchases.

The arms are to be supplied by the Italian firm Contraves Italiana, which is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Swiss-based Oerlikon-Buehrle company. Switzerland also played a key role in financing the deal, a consortium of Swiss-based banks having arranged a multi-million dollar credit for the sale.

Israel, too, is showing close



Sadat attempts to legitimise the Zionist presence. Photo top shows an Israeli pavilion at a trade fair in Cairo, while the Israeli Embassy in the Egyptian capital (bottom) mocks Arab steadfastness. See 'Shazli speaks out'.

►interest in Egyptian military activities along the Libyan frontier. On 15th June *Newsweek* reported that during his recent visit to Egypt, Israel's minister for settlements, Ariel Sharon, took a helicopter tour of military positions in the western desert. Sharon is tipped to be defence minister in a new Beigin government and his tour has prompted speculation that Sadat can now rely on Israeli military assistance for aggression against Libya.

The Egyptian arms deal is thought likely to diminish still further Switzerland's standing in the eyes of Third World countries. Already it has a bad reputation for its practice of selling in developing states drugs which have been banned in the industrialised countries because of their proven severe danger to health. It is thought that thousands of people die in the Third World each year as the result of poisoning by these dangerous drugs.

Switzerland's image has also been tarnished because it continues the marketing of powdered baby foods in the Third World, where their use, researchers have determined, is extremely hazardous. Water supplies are often polluted, leading to serious risk of infection, while in countries with low literacy rates mothers cannot read the instructions for preparing the foods. Often there are not even any instructions on the food packets.

Shazli speaks out: 'Sadat's betrayal'

EGYPTIAN RULER Anwar Sadat's behaviour during the October 1973 War was strongly influenced by the deal he made with Israel and the United States behind the back of his government and at the expense of thou-

sands of Egyptian troops, declared General Sa'ad ad Din Shazli in an article published in the Beirut daily *As-Safir* on 13th July.

Shazli, sacked as Egypt's Chief of Staff after the war and now in exile heading the Opposition Egyptian National Front, draws attention to a passage in the autobiography of former Cabinet Minister Osman Ahmed Osman, in which he describes a meeting with the Egyptian ruler on the evening of 27th October 1973.

Osman writes that he expected to find Sadat in a gloomy mood, but instead the 'rais' was in very high spirits and spoke enthusiastically about re-opening the Suez Canal, and even building a tunnel beneath it.

On that day, the entire Egyptian Third Army was surrounded and Israel had by then occupied much of the west bank of the Suez Canal. Shazli argues that in these circumstances, Sadat's mood and plans could only have been based on assurances from the US that Israel would withdraw in return for unspecified concessions from Egypt. These were to become clear with the Second Sinai Disengagement Agreement of 1975 and the 1978 Camp David accords.

Shazli, in his own book published last year, has told how during the war Sadat issued orders countermanding Shazli's plans to meet the expected Israeli counter-offensive after Egypt's dramatic crossing of the Canal on 6th October. Without Sadat's interference, Egypt would have gained the relative victory of which it was capable, and would have been in a strong negotiating position later. Instead, Shazli says, Egypt and the Arabs suffered a relative defeat, and Sadat has made what Shazli and

others see as quite unpardonable concessions to regain partial control over the Sinai.

OPEC aid record outshines the West

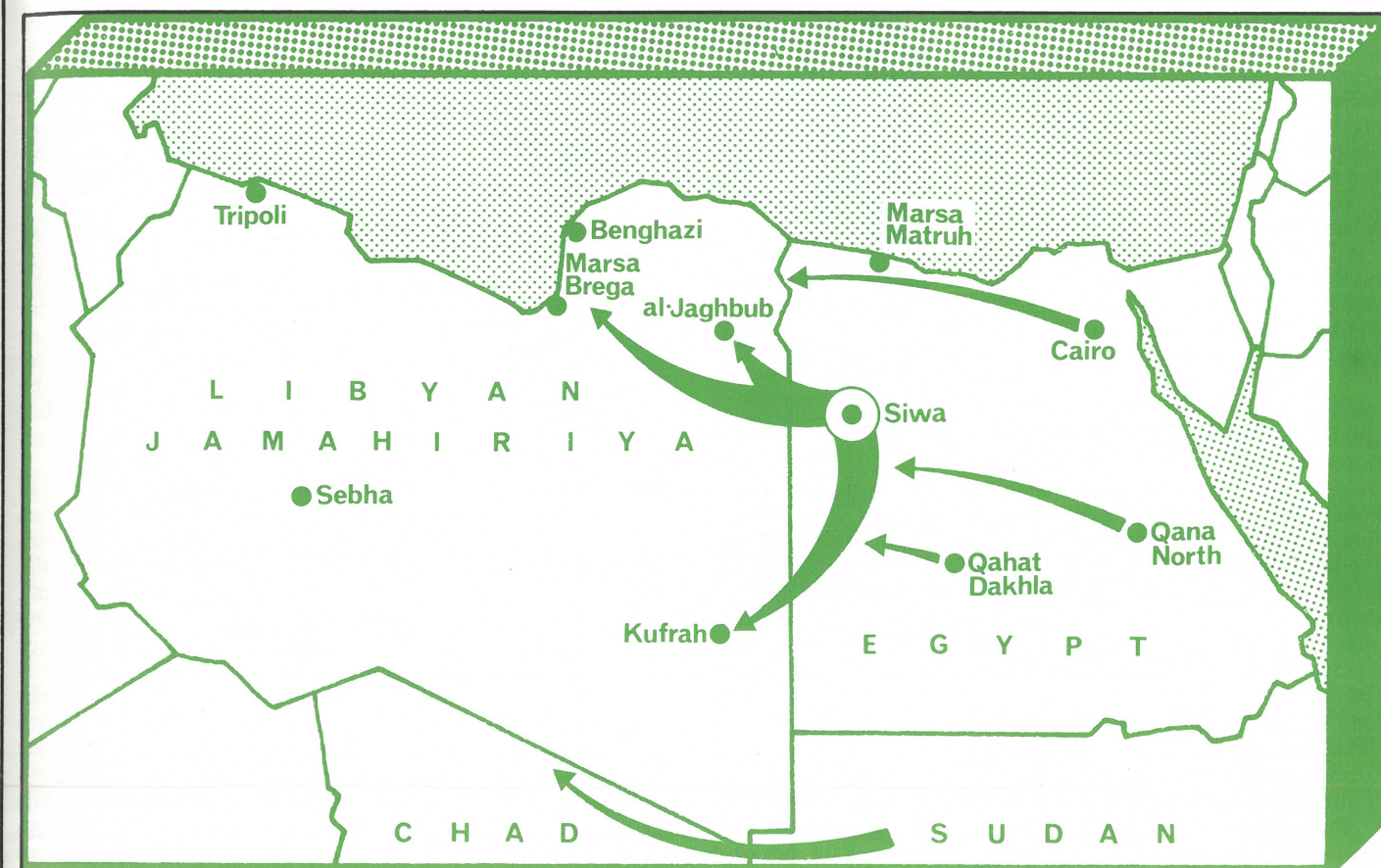
THE AID provided by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to developing countries is four times greater than the amount the industrialised western states provide, the official Tunisian news agency TAP reported on 6th July, citing sources close to OPEC Headquarters in Vienna.

The OPEC International Development Fund had provided \$4 billion in aid by the end of 1980. OPEC member states also provide assistance directly to developing countries under bilateral agreements. The OPEC Fund resources have tripled since its creation in 1976.

Rights of Palestinian dead violated

THE BODIES of about 3,000 Palestinians have been exhumed from the tombs in Haifa, occupied by the Zionists in 1948, by the Israeli authorities, the UN Committee on the Practice of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People was told in New York on 11th July.

Addressing the Committee, the PLO's Permanent Observer to the UN, Mr Zuhdi Labib Terzi, said 'Not only are the living Palestinians being denied their basic rights, now even the dead ones are being denied their rights.'



Plan for invasion of Libya unmasked

PLANS FOR a joint Egyptian-Israeli invasion of the Libyan Jamahiriya have been revealed by Libyan security authorities in Tripoli. The disclosure of the scheme follows earlier reports that Israel's Agriculture Minister, Ariel Sharon, visited the Libyan border area during a recent visit to Egypt. Sharon is tipped as the next Israeli Defence Minister in the new Beigin government.

The plot disclosed by the Libyan intelligence authorities is very detailed. The information provided would appear to have come from sources close to the Egyptian ruler Anwar Sadat, and could lead to further purges of senior military and political personnel, amongst whom it is known that many are deeply concerned about, and some directly opposed to, Sadat's aggressive designs towards the Libyan Jamahiriya.

According to the Libyan news agency, JANA, the plan was suggested for the first time at President Sadat's Giza home during the second part of March this year. Present at his home then were the Israeli Agriculture Minister, Ariel Sharon, and the Egyptian Defence Minister, General Abd al-Halim Ghazalah. During the meeting, President Sadat proposed the idea of joint Egyptian-Israeli military action against Libya with the intention of toppling the regime there. At the outset of the meeting, President Sadat asked for Sharon's views on the plan. But Sharon said he would like to study the topography

A JOINT Israel-Egyptian scheme for the invasion of Libya has been unmasked. The Reagan administration has publicly declared its policy of backing foreign forces willing to confront the Jamahiriya, but there are increasing signs that, in Western Europe, Washington's scheme has no support.

of the Libyan-Egyptian border region before giving an opinion.

Upon Sharon's answer, Sadat immediately ordered the provision of all facilities for him to visit the border region. The official reason given for Sharon's visit was to explore the possibilities of carrying out joint Egyptian-Israeli agricultural co-operation in the region.

Two days later, a second meeting was held to continue discussions on the plan. The meeting this time was held at President Sadat's retreat at Kanater al Khairiyyah, attended by Sharon, and the Israeli Air Force Commander, who was hastily summoned after the first meeting to accompany Sharon to the Egyptian-Libyan border region. The talks were also attended by Egyptian Vice-President Hosni Mubarak, the Defence Minister, General Abd al Halim Abu Ghazalah, the Director

of Egypt's Secret Intelligence (EIS), Muhammad Sa'id al-Mahi, the Director of Military Intelligence and the Deputy Director of the Israeli Secret Intelligence Service, Mossad.

Attack plan

During the meeting the following points were made: Sharon said the terrain in the border region necessitated the carrying out of a special operation on four distinct axes:

1. A lightning air raid to destroy Libya's rocket bases and military build-up centres, regardless of whether these were human or equipment centres. The raids would be planned on information obtained from US satellite reconnaissance photographs possessed by the Egyptians and Israelis. The main targets would be those closest to the border with Egypt.
2. The second axis would involve a land attack launched from the half-way mark along the border. The attacking Egyptian forces would move in one unit from the Siwa oasis. After crossing the border this would divide into two divisions, one to head for al Jaghboub with the other pressing on to the Brega oilfields.
3. The third axis would be the use of Libyans opposed to the Revolution. This force would move from Siwa southwards towards Kufrah.
4. The fourth element would be Sudanese forces, which would move to the Libyan-Chad border to prevent Libyan troops in Chad from returning home.

► The President was reportedly enthusiastic about the plan, and asked if it could be implemented immediately. The Israeli Air Force Commander noted that a lightning air attack would require 35 to 40 F-16 fighter jets, because the attack would have to be launched from a remote airbase so that Soviet intelligence could not record the operation at its inception. The Israeli Air Force Commander suggested that the jets should commence their attack from air bases at Qana North, Qahat Dakhla or Cairo West, and return to bases at Marsa Matruh, Siwa and Marbut.

Israeli jets

Egypt does not have F-16s, and Israel offered use of her own jets, provided they were painted with Egyptian markings and piloted by Israelis with Egyptian identities, and fluent in the Egyptian dialect of Arabic. Egypt would have to pay compensation for any losses or damages incurred.

Later, the Egyptian Director and Israeli Deputy Director of Military Intelligence disclosed all available information on Libya's military capabilities and the Soviet military presence in Libya. Mahi, Director of EIS, reported on the training of Libyan nationals were being trained in two villages in the Buhaira region, at Bar el Matamir and Dilangat. EIS had contacts inside Libya, and was obtaining information from a Libyan in London. He was providing the EIS with highly important information. EIS, he said, had other highly reliable contacts inside Libya.



Anwar Sadat

Sharon suggested that the plan should be put into action during the month of Ramadan. The attacks, he said, should be from the air at dawn between 23 and 31 July, during the period immediately preceding President Sadat's visit to Washington. President Sadat would thus arrive in Washington with a strong stand which would enable him to obtain the assistance he required, Sharon said.

Ask Reagan

Hosni Mubarak expressed objection to an operation of this size which would increase the risk of Soviet intervention. He said American approval must be obtained prior to the plan's implementation by President Sadat personally during his proposed visit to the USA.

The meeting ended with the creation of a committee grouping the Egyptian

Defence Minister, the Israeli Air Force Commander, the Director and Deputy Director of the EIS, the Deputy Director of the Egyptian Military Intelligence Service. The Committee was charged with preparing a final plan to be presented to President Sadat before 15th July.

The disclosure of the joint Egyptian-Israeli plan for the invasion of Libya underlines the increasing threat to the Arab nation of Israeli military intervention. The Zionists are clearly confident that they can attack deep into Arab territory far from the ceasefire lines surrounding the Zionist state in Palestine, without suffering any harmful response from the international community.

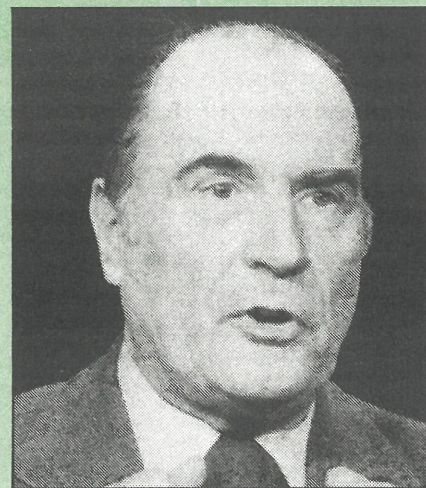
However, the passing of such detailed information to top secret meetings between Israeli and Egyptian military leaders suggests divisions and opposition to the scheme amongst advisors close to Sadat. Speculation continues to surround the death last March of the Egyptian Defence Minister, Lt Gen Ahmed Badawi. He was known to oppose much of Sadat's military strategy vis-à-vis Israel, over which he demanded military parity with Israel even in times of 'peace', and it is believed he was amongst senior military officials opposed to Sadat's plans for the invasion of Libya. Some 90,000 Egyptian forces are now stationed along the border with the Jamahiriya. Badawi died in a mysterious helicopter crash, along with nine major generals, one brigadier general, and three colonels, although the plane's four-man crew emerged alive.

Europe does not accept US position on Libya

A NOTICEABLE rift between Western Europe and the United States over their approach towards the Libyan Jamahiriya is beginning to emerge. In short, the Europeans do not endorse Washington's plans to support the destabilisation of Libya, and if American arms are used as part of an invasion of the Jamahiriya they could well be confronted with arms from Britain and France.

Talks concerning arms sales to Libya have taken place in London between British officials and a Libyan military delegation which visited the UK earlier this year, according to informed sources. And in a further move to strengthen and improve relations between Britain and Libya, a senior official of the Foreign Office, Mr John Campbell, visited Tripoli in late June.

In the latest snub to US policy towards Libya, it was announced on 15th July that France's new Socialist Government has decided to lift the arms sales ban on Libya which the Giscard government imposed in response to Libya's military assistance to the Chadian government last December. All exist-



President Mitterand of France

ing contracts in the armaments and other fields would be carried out, the French government said.

The Foreign Ministry in Paris disclosed that M Jean-Pierre Cot, Minister for Co-operation and Development, held talks with Libyan officials in the French capital a few days earlier to discuss the subject.

According to press reports, the main



Premier Thatcher of Britain

outstanding Libyan orders concern ten fast gunboats worth about £277 million, along with 30 Mirage aircraft and some helicopters. In the civil field, the lifting of the ban means that Elf-Aquitaine, the oil company in which the French government has a 67 per cent stake, can now go ahead with its oil exploration contract announced just prior to the Giscard ban.



Women and children flee in terror as Israel bombs civilian areas of Beirut.

Beigin orders the killing of women and children

WHEN MENACHEM Beigin ordered the Israeli forces to strike at Beirut on 17th July, the Zionist leader was well aware of the high toll of civilian lives which would result. Yet even western press correspondents, who witnessed the attack and the carnage which resulted, could hardly believe their eyes.

James Allen, the *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent in Beirut, wrote on 18th July, the day after the murderous strike in the heart of the Lebanese capital: 'Five-storey buildings occupied by poor and bewildered Arabs crumbled one after another as the planes flew in from over the Mediterranean. When the raid was over the scene was horrifying in the extent of the destruction. It looked as though an earthquake had hit the area'.

He continued: 'Everywhere people were crying, shouting, running about dementedly in a desperate search for family or friends. Bloody limbs stuck out starkly from the piles of pulped brick that had been their homes. Cars had been tossed on top of other buildings that survived. Twisted metal was everywhere as shops, tin shanty houses and offices lay in ruins'.

Nora Boustany, reporting from Beirut in *The Sunday Times* on 19th July quoted a French cameraman who had gone to the scene of the devastation shortly after the Zionist terror raid as saying it was 'a vision of the apocalypse'. He added: 'Women were running around screaming for their children and a man walked towards me with three

WOMEN AND children were amongst the civilian targets of Israel's July attacks on Beirut and Lebanese towns and villages in which more than 300 died, and over 800 civilians were seriously injured. In south Lebanon, 383 houses were damaged, 61 people killed and 242 injured. Western journalists provide eye-witness accounts of the Zionist attacks.

dead babies in his arms.' Nora Boustany reported a Lebanese resident of the area as saying: 'They are piling up the bodies on the sidewalks in mounds'.

In a graphic eye-witness account, James Allen continued: 'Rescue work amid the debris was still going on as dusk fell last night and the death toll continued to mount. Hospitals were taken over by the government to cope with the unending flow of casualties. Air raid victims lay bleeding amid the rubble as ambulances were held up in immense traffic jams caused by terrified motorists frantically trying to drive out of the area'.

In the *Observer* on 19th July, Colin Smith described a visit he made to the Palestinian Gaza hospital in Beirut. 'An Iraqi called

Habib Darwish showed me ward after ward of injured civilians, most of them lying on mattresses soaked with fresh blood,' he said. The doctor told him he had so far treated more than 100 people and that at that point there were 18 dead lying in the hospital morgue.

Smith continued: 'I saw at least 30 seriously injured children there, including babies. A 12-year old girl named Hanadi Turk was screaming in agony as a doctor tried to pick shrapnel from her eyes. He thought an eye surgeon might possibly save the sight of the left one. Both her legs were broken at the thigh, and she had more shrapnel wounds in her chest. Her father stood weeping beside her'.

In one ward, said Smith, an operation was underway on a middle-aged woman with a hideous gash in her right ankle. 'She had been peppered with shrapnel and most of her face was burnt,' he said, and quoted a Palestinian doctor who mocked: 'These are the terrorists, these are the trained commandos'.

Further evidence of the Zionists' determination to inflict as many civilian casualties as possible came in their other raids on Lebanon. In the *Daily Telegraph* on 18th July, James Allen said other targets had been hit in massive Zionist air strikes the day before. These, he said, had claimed the lives of 25 people and wounded a further 114. 'The worst casualties in these raids,' said Allen, 'were sustained in a Palestinian refugee camp just south of Sidon. Four adjoining stone houses were demolished with most of the victims being women, children and old men'.

Israel was not, however, deterred by international reaction to its attacks on civilian targets. On 22nd July Israeli jets bombed and strafed roads in south Lebanon, killing 40 people. The day after, *The Times* reported: 'Israeli aircraft yesterday bombed civilian road traffic along south Lebanon's Mediterranean coast road, killing about 40 people. The raids began in mid-afternoon when the jets swooped on the Litani river crossing. They hit three taxis and three trucks which were inching their way across a ford, according to an American CBS television crew on the scene'.

The report continued: 'Some of the taxi passengers were burned to death. A few jumped down the river bank but were killed or wounded when the aircraft returned. About two hours later the jets returned and a television crew said they filmed as 20 bombs scored direct hits on four civilian trucks, eight cars and a motorcyclist crossing the shallow river. Most of the travellers died instantly. "It was carnage", one witness said'.

Reporting from the Gaza hospital in Beirut on 17th July, Colin Smith described how one father objected to his taking a photograph of his daughter - 'a girl of about 11 who had been brought in with shrapnel wounds'. The doctor present suggested to the father that the world should see what the Israelis had done. The girl's father snapped back: 'The world has seen these pictures a thousand times. When did it ever stop anything?'

The real reasons for the Zionist carnage in Beirut

FOR ALMOST a decade Lebanon has been the target of a joint American-Israeli destabilisation programme. The goal is to drive the Palestinian refugees and their armed resistance from Lebanese territory. In early July all seemed ready for Lebanese rightists to break their ties with the Zionists. Then came the unprovoked Israeli attack on Beirut.

AFTER A brief period of relative calm in Lebanon, Israel on 10th July launched its bloodiest-ever series of air strikes which have claimed the lives of more than 200 people and left many more seriously wounded. Most of the casualties came on 17th July in savage strikes on Beirut and other targets when 158 Palestinian and Lebanese civilians were slaughtered and 564 severely wounded.

It was no coincidence that the first assault came only four days after Israel's allies, the rightist Lebanese Phalange Party, had agreed to sever all their ties with the Zionists. This undertaking was a key outcome of the efforts of an Arab Foreign Ministers committee which since May has been working for a resolution of Lebanon's festering civil strife. The Zionists watched the committee's success with dismay, for peace in the Lebanon, and the re-establishment of Lebanese government authority, would severely restrict the scope for Zionist intervention there against the Palestinians and their leftist Lebanese allies. Moreover, without having to guard against the rightist threat, the Palestinians would be able to deploy their full strength in the battle against Israel.

It was the Zionists' alliances with the Phalangists in the north and the rightists of Sa'ad Haddad in the south that have allowed the Israelis to subvert Lebanon on such a scale. As well as providing military advisors, vast quantities of arms, and air support, Israel has played a key role in co-ordinating rightist military operations against the Palestinians, the Lebanese leftists and the Syrian manned Arab peace-keeping forces in Lebanon.



Apartment blocks crumble killing scores of civilians during the 17th July raid on Beirut.

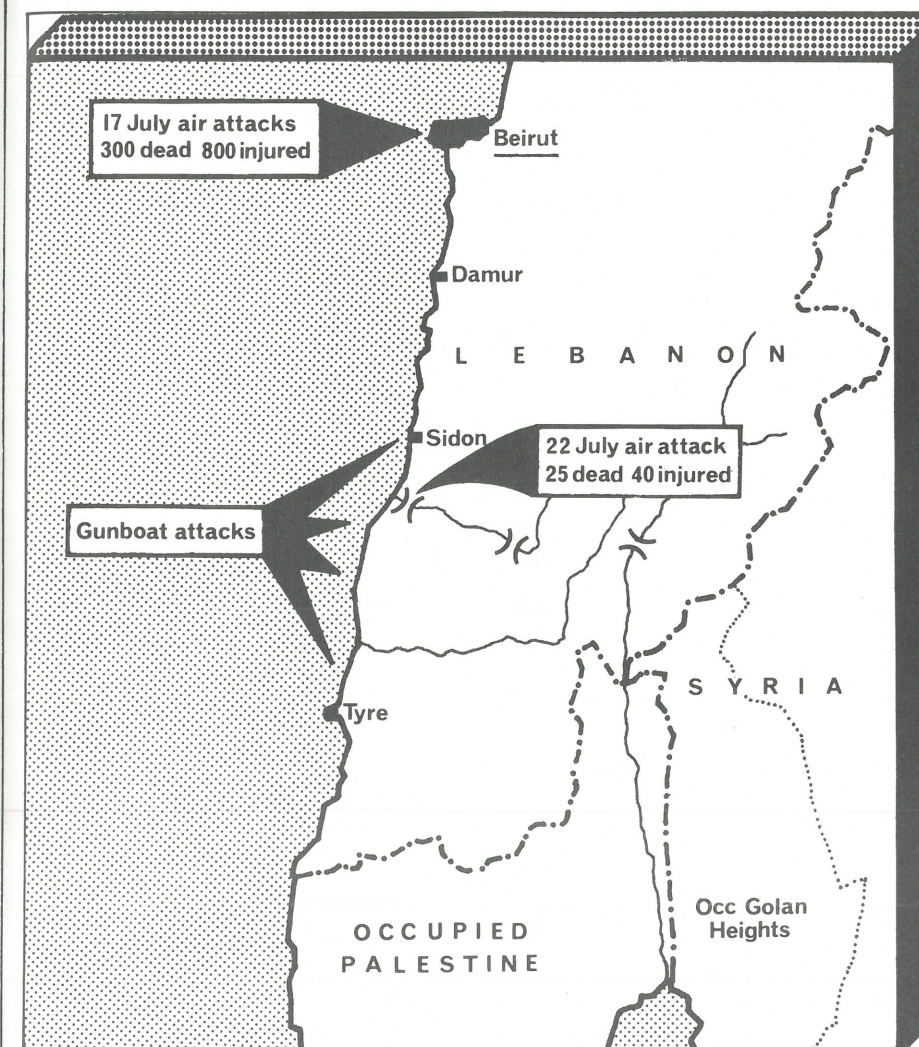
It now seems clear that the Zionists launched their 17th July air raids in a deliberate attempt to sabotage the Arab committee's peace efforts by reactivating the turmoil in Lebanon. Their hope was that if tension could be raised sufficiently, the uneasy truce between the various armed groups in Lebanon would collapse. The Phalangists might then be tempted to turn once again to Israel for support. Further, the Israelis hoped that the Lebanese people might be induced to turn on the Palestinians, blaming them, and not the Zionists, for the devastation.

Divide and rule

Israel judged that its aims could best be achieved by maximising civilian casualties, and it is this that explains both the targets selected for the Beirut raid, and its detailed timing. The Zionists have claimed that their

objective was to destroy PLO offices in the Lebanese capital. But these offices, like those of any political organisation or state in any of the world's capitals, are sited in densely populated areas, and it is this that made them such attractive targets. And as the *Guardian* correspondent in Beirut said the day after the strikes: 'The raids came in a 35 minute period yesterday morning when Abu Saleh street was jammed with cars and shoppers'.

Israel has dismissed the civilian casualties as incidental by-products of an essential military operation. But Major General Yehoshua Saguy, director of Zionist military intelligence, has admitted that, contrary to the assertions of Beigin and most other Zionist leaders, the Beirut raid had no direct, strictly military purpose. On 20th July the *Guardian* reported him as accepting that the raid would cause little disruption to the



Palestinian resistance because the PLO could soon reactivate their headquarters.

He even went as far as to admit that a key aim had been to drive a wedge between the Lebanese people and the Palestinian refugee community. Reporting his admission on 20th July, the *International Herald Tribune* said: 'It was the first time that a senior Israeli military official publicly has said that an expected benefit of the Beirut raids was to turn the Lebanese civilians there against the presence of the Palestinian guerrilla headquarters.' The paper noted: 'Previously, government spokesmen had said the purpose was to disrupt the Palestine Liberation Organisation political infrastructure, and that the various PLO factions had unfortunately been situated in civilian population centres'.

The reaction of the Beigin regime to the civilian casualties has been stunningly cold-blooded. There have been no expressions of remorse. Saguy has even gone so far as to assert that the people who died were responsible for their own deaths because they knew they lived in the vicinity of PLO offices. Speaking on Israeli radio on 19th July, he said the air strike had been against 'headquarters set up amid the civilian population. The people who lived near these headquarters were aware of these circumstances'.

The Arab committee charged by the Arab League with bringing peace to Lebanon,

and comprising the Foreign Ministers of Lebanon, Syria, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, was originally formed in 1978 in the wake of the Israeli invasion of south Lebanon in March of that year. It was reactivated in May this year following a sharp deterioration in Lebanon's security situation. A key feature of the resuscitated committee was that its aim was to go far beyond winning solutions to the immediate crises facing Lebanon. The objective was to forge a lasting peace in the country to bring an end to the fighting that has continued since 1974.

The committee's renewed efforts first bore fruit in early June. Following meetings in Beirut's Beit ad Din Presidential Palace, the committee announced on 8th June that a comprehensive ceasefire had been agreed between Syrian, Phalangist and Lebanese leftist forces. Already the Zionists were showing alarm at the implications of Lebanese national reconciliation for their scope to intervene against the Palestinians. The first day of the Beit ad Din meetings, an Israeli fighter broke the sound barrier over the palace.

The meetings, however, left two key issues unresolved. First there was the question of the eastern Lebanese town of Zahleh, where on 28th April Israeli jets had shot down two Syrian helicopters, precipitating the so-called 'missile crisis' in Lebanon. Zahleh had become a major flashpoint because the Phalangists, with the full backing of Israel,

had decided to incorporate the town in the swathe of territory under their control. Their sudden move into the city posed a severe threat to the anyway delicate Lebanese *status quo*, and also raised the spectre of a possible link-up between the Phalangists in the north and Haddad's Israeli-backed rightists in the south. Such a move would sever Syrian lines of communication between Damascus and Beirut, and complete the encirclement of the Palestinians in south Lebanon. The Syrians accordingly put Zahleh under siege and the town had been the scene of fierce battles since 2nd April. The Arab mediation committee saw that little progress could be made towards national reconciliation until the crisis at Zahleh had been resolved.

Phalangists

The second key problem left outstanding at the Beit ad Din meetings was the question of Phalangist links with the Zionists. Syria insisted that the rightists publicly renounce their ties with Israel as a pre-condition of a lasting peace settlement in Lebanon. At that stage, however, the furthest the Phalangists were prepared to go was to issue a pledge stressing the unity of destiny between Lebanon and the rest of the Arab homeland, with no direct reference to the Zionist state.

With these two crucial issues unresolved, it was no surprise that, while the committee had succeeded in lessening tension in Lebanon, the ceasefire they announced held only sporadically. A major reason for the new outbursts of fighting was a Phalangist refusal to implement an agreement reached in May with the Syrian army command and Lebanese cabinet ministers from Zahleh, providing for a Phalangist withdrawal from the city and for a renunciation of their ties with the Zionists.

When the Arab Foreign Ministers held a second meeting in the Saudi Arabian town of Jeddah on 24th June, the outlook was not bright. Syria, in particular, was adamant that the Israeli presence in Lebanon should be ended. In an interview with the Beirut daily *As Safir* that appeared the same day as the Jeddah meeting, Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam said: 'Nothing can be discussed before the subject of collaboration with Israel is determined,' and added: 'We refuse any conditions for ending the link with Israel. Treason is not dependent on conditions.' The Jeddah meeting ended inconclusively with a reaffirmation of the commitment to a ceasefire and an agreement to meet again in Lebanon in early July.

The last day of June, however, saw the removal of one of the two major obstacles to Lebanese reconciliation when the Phalangists finally agreed to evacuate Zahleh, handing over the town to Lebanese security forces. It was a major defeat for the Lebanese rightists and their Zionist allies. Five buses carried 95 Phalangist militiamen out of the town to the western sector of Beirut. From there they were handed over to the Phalangist military command in the eastern sector of the divided city.

That left the question of Phalangist-

►Israeli links as the only major stumbling block to efforts aimed at national reconciliation, and when the Arab mediation committee reconvened in Beirut on 3rd July for its third round of talks the prospects for a settlement seemed much more hopeful. But the committee's deliberations came to an abrupt end on 5th July when three of its members – the Foreign Ministers of Kuwait, Syria and Saudi Arabia – declared themselves unsatisfied that any progress had been made on the question of Zionist-Phalangist links. It was left to the fourth member – Lebanon – to settle the issue before the committee reconvened on 25th July.

Gemayel's pledge

Within hours, however, a breakthrough came when the Phalangist militia leader Bashir Gemayel presented a written undertaking to Lebanese President Sarkis that the Phalangists would sever all their ties with the Zionist state. It was thought that one reason for the Phalangist change of heart was Kuwait and Saudi Arabia's firm backing for the Syrian demand. Another reason advanced was that Gemayel had been disappointed with the extent of Israeli assistance during the battle for Zahleh. He had reportedly been hoping for a Zionist ground operation in support of the Phalangist militia in the town. There were also reports that Gemayel's hardline stance on the Israeli connection had been meeting growing opposition from within the ranks of the Phalange Party. Members were becoming concerned at the extent to which the Zionist ties were isolating the Lebanese rightists from the rest of the Arab nation.

Underlining the sincerity of the Phalangist decision, their leader, Pierre Gemayel (Bashir's father) told reporters on 7th July of his readiness to guarantee that his party had 'no relations' with Israel. Speaking after a meeting with President Sarkis, he declared: 'We stress our readiness to give any guarantee and at the same time assure that there are no relations between ourselves and Israel.'

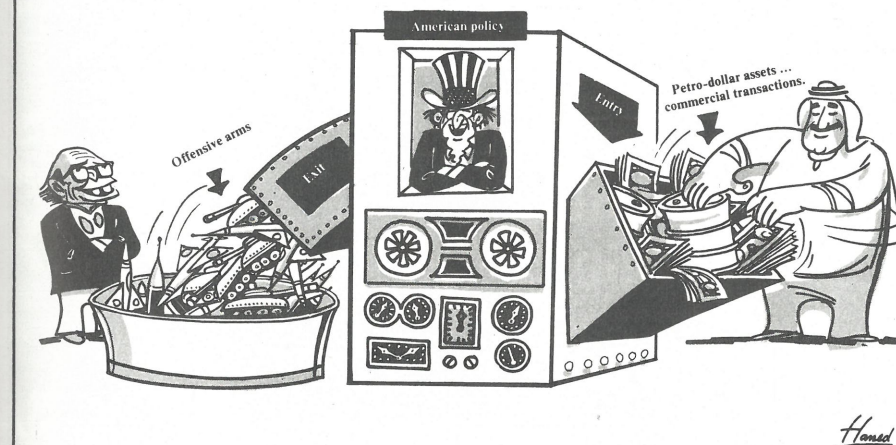
The following day, Beirut papers reported that the Lebanese government was now confident that the Arab mediation committee would be able to complete its work in the coming ten days, and launch Lebanon on the path to peace. Having overcome the two major obstacles in its way, the committee was ready to turn to other items on its agenda, such as relations between the Lebanese state and the Palestinian resistance, and the role of the Lebanese army. In a report from Beirut on 8th July, Robert Fisk said in *The Times* that the Phalangist pledge to cut their ties with Israel had 'opened the way to a round-table conference of all Lebanon's political and para-military commanders'.

The long term implications of a Phalangist agreement to sever ties with Israel had been neatly encapsulated in *The Economist* on 4th July, just after the lifting of the siege of Zahleh. Noting that the Phalangists were disposed towards ending their connection with the Zionists, the journal said: 'If the new, hard-won realism of the Phalange can be matched with equal realism from Israel, Lebanon could, just possibly, have taken the first step on the long and winding path back to normality'.

But 'normality' is just what the Zionists

do not want for Lebanon. With the country in turmoil they have a free hand to intervene via the Phalangists. The latter's renunciation of their ties with Israel dashed the Zionist dream of crushing the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon in a pincer movement, with the Phalangist forces to the north, and those of Haddad and the Zionists to the south. On 10th July, only four days after Bashir Gemayel had presented the written undertaking to President Sarkis, the first wave of Israeli fighter-bombers went into action against the Palestinians. It was a totally unprovoked attack, which came after some weeks of relative calm in south Lebanon. There had not even been any Palestinian resistance operations launched against the Zionist state from Lebanon which Israel could invoke as a pretext for the savage air strike.

The Israeli aim was clear enough. Beigin hoped to wreck the fragile and hard-won ceasefire between the various factions in Lebanon. If this could be engineered, the Phalangists might be induced to return to the Israeli fold. At the same time, he hoped that massive civilian casualties might generally sour relations between the Lebanese people and the Palestinians. On both counts the Zionists' expectations proved unfounded. There has been no resurgence of inter-factional fighting. And far from turning on the Palestinians, the Lebanese people have never been so united in their abhorrence of the murderous Zionist interference in their country's internal affairs. The only political casualty of the savage bombing raids has been Israel itself. They have confirmed its status as an international pariah.



The American arms that kill the Arabs

AT A press conference in Beirut on 20th July, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat placed the ultimate responsibility for the latest Zionist aggressions in Lebanon squarely on the shoulders of President Reagan. Stressing that the Palestinians' will to resist would never break, he declared: 'Beigin and his master in the White House must remember that we won't accept defeat'. And speaking in the Lebanese capital the day of the Israeli attack, Majid Abu Sharar, a senior PLO official, having first referred to 'the old terrorist, Beigin,' went on to say: 'The new terrorist, meaning President Reagan, who is fully supporting Israel, is responsible for the devastation in Beirut.'

The link between the current Israeli aggressions and the White House has been echoed in Arab and Palestinian circles throughout the world. In London PLO Representative Nabil Ramlawi issued a statement on 19th July saying of the Israeli attack on Lebanon: 'The weapons are American, the strategy is American, and Israel's actions against the Palestinians have been approved by the Americans.'

For years Israel has been the recipient of more than half of total US worldwide aid disbursements, and Washington has been the principal source of the Zionist state's military hardware for many years.

Since the 1973 Middle East war, Israel's armed forces have doubled in size, while the sophistication of their equipment has increased greatly. This has been almost entirely the result of massive imports of the latest weaponry from the US, totalling \$15 billion in value. And 65 per cent of these

THE CONTINUING Israeli attacks against the Arab nation, which in recent weeks have spanned territory from Beirut to Baghdad, have been made possible only by massive arms supplies from the United States. The Zionist state receives more than half of the US worldwide military and economic aid programme.

imports have been financed by the US. The most expensive hardware have been the fleets of F-15 and F-16 warplanes. Both types of plane were used in the attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor, and both have played a prominent role in the aggressions against Lebanon. The first consignment of the 40 F-15s ordered by Israel was delivered in 1976, and by spring this year about 25 had been delivered. Washington has agreed to supply 75 F-16s, and by the end of June some 53 had arrived in the Zionist state. All the US weapons are supplied on condition that they are for 'defensive' use only. In practice, this proviso has been ignored, both by Tel Aviv and Washington.

In the 1981 fiscal year, the US gave Israel a total of \$2.2 billion in military and 'economic' aid. Of this, \$500 million was a direct grant and \$1.4 billion was in soft

loans. The 'economic' aid of \$800 million was a direct grant. The military sector forms the backbone of the Zionist state's economy, however, and the distinction between 'military' and 'economic' aid is therefore blurred. The \$2.2 billion is quite apart from the \$3 billion promised to the Zionists to 'compensate' them for their withdrawal from Sinai under the Camp David process. This 'compensation' will be used to construct new military bases to replace those handed over to Egypt. Work is already advanced on major new air bases in the Negev desert.

US aid has enabled Israel to become one of the most highly militarised states in the world. This year the Israeli 'defence' budget stands at \$2 billion. At \$1,000 per head of population, this level of military expenditure is four times higher than in any NATO country and five times higher than in the Warsaw Pact. But the \$2 billion in the 'defence' budget is earmarked for purchases from Israel's own war factories. It does not include spending on arms imports – almost all from the US and financed by Washington.

The advent of the Reagan administration, with its strong emphasis on military support for regimes which back US policies, and its obsession with the 'Soviet threat', opened the way for even greater flows of military assistance to Israel.

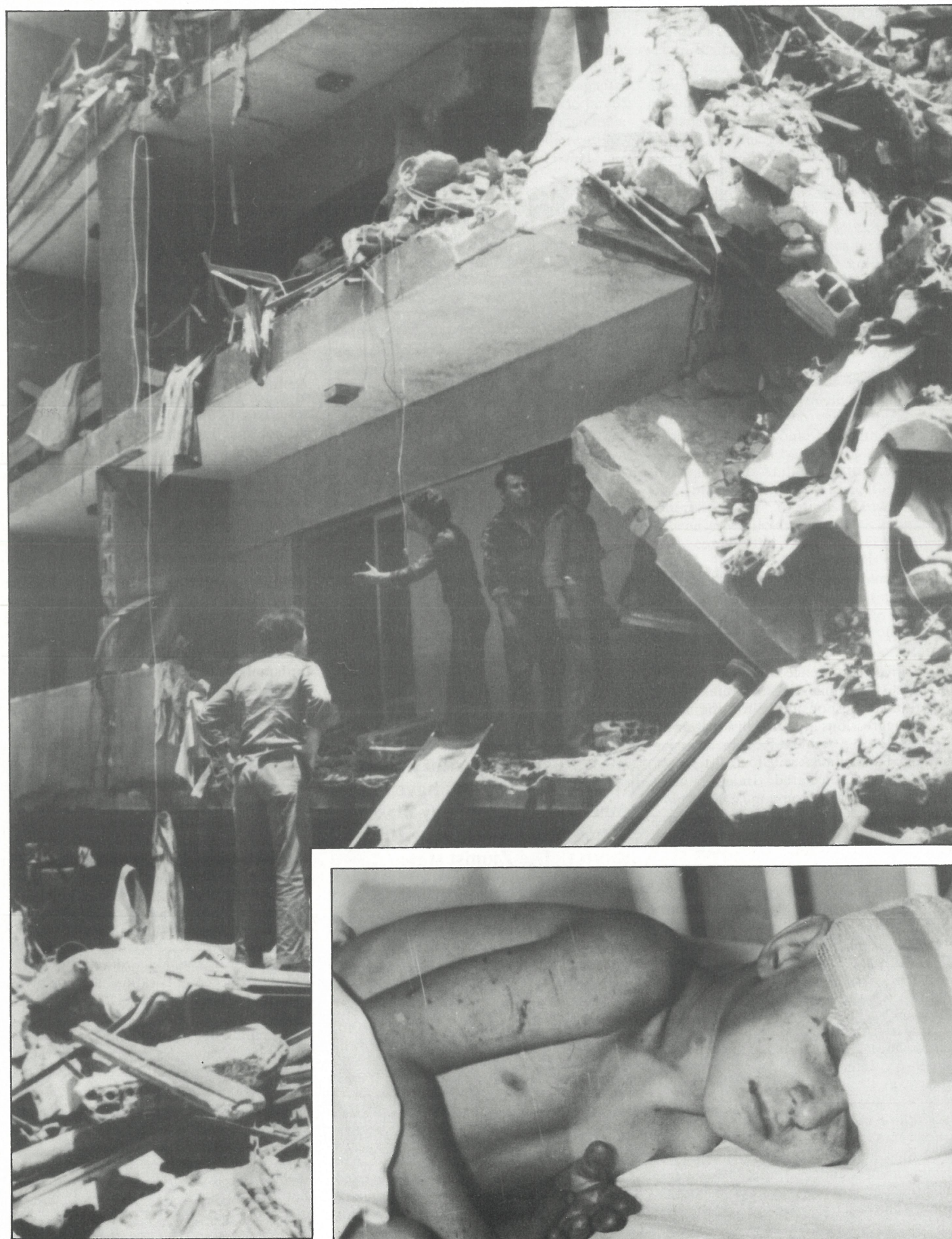
Reflecting the Reagan team's tunnel vision on the need to 'contain communism', administration officials appearing on 26th February before a Congress committee to defend the proposed military aid package for Israel, argued that the \$600 million earmarked to finance new Zionist bases to replace those in Sinai was necessary to help counter what they termed 'aggressive Soviet expansionist policies' in the Arab homeland (*International Herald Tribune*, 1st March 1981).

US military aid to the Zionists is, however, definitely set to increase in the coming years. Already Washington is committed to increases in the 1983 and 1984 fiscal years, in each of which Israel will receive \$300 million in soft loans to finance the purchase of additional F-15s. These are to 'compensate' the Zionists for the US decision to supply bomb racks, larger fuel tanks and Sidewinder missiles for the F-15s ordered by Saudi Arabia. The 'compensation' also involves greater Israeli access to US intelligence reports.

The continuing US commitment to Israel's military well-being was stressed by Secretary of State Haig during his recent visit to the Zionist state. On 7th April the *Financial Times* reported that Haig had assured Beigin that America 'would ensure that Israel maintains its qualitative edge' over the Arab military forces. Haig also agreed to examine favourably a Zionist request that the grant proportion of US aid be enlarged, and the terms of the loan element eased.

The paper commented: 'The Jerusalem government was pleased with these assurances and Mr. Haig's constant repetition of America's unshakeable support for Israel, which the Secretary referred to as an important ally'.





As scores of dead and injured are brought out of buildings destroyed by the Zionists, the search continues in the hope that survivors might be found amongst the rubble.

Arab leaders point to American role

IF ALEXANDER Haig, the US Secretary of State is still looking for 'a consensus' of Arab opinion, which he claimed during his Middle East tour earlier this year, it is now beginning to emerge in unequivocal terms. Israel, and more specifically the country which arms it, the United States, are considered by far the greatest enemies of the Arab nation, contrary to President Reagan's claim that the Arabs' foremost enemy is the Soviet Union.

Indeed, Jordan, a conservative and pro-American Arab regime, looks with sympathy at increased Soviet involvement in the Middle East, Crown Prince Hassan said in London on 23rd July. The US, he charged, had failed to curb Israel's aggressive strategy. Recent Soviet-Syrian naval manoeuvres, he added, 'gave a lot of hope to the Arabs'.

Earlier, on 19th July, the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi declared in a letter to Arab leaders that the honour of the Arab nation was being repeatedly insulted by the support which the US gives to the Zionists (see inset for text). Arab progressives could not continue to accept a situation in which the United States remained strong simply as a result of the continued economic support which the Arab oil producers give to America, Qadhafi warned.

A 21st July commentary on Damascus radio referred to 'the war of annihilation' being waged against the Palestinian and Lebanese people by the Zionists. 'How can anyone in full possession of their mental faculties imagine that the US official's announcement of postponing the delivery of F16 planes to the Zionists could reflect their disapproval of, or objection to, such a work or even their participation in it?' the commentator asked.

In Amman, the Jordanian Foreign Minister said that some international circles had adopted in the past 20 years the concept of preserving Israel's security by showering it with sophisticated weapons and unlimited political, financial and economic aid, which had enabled Israel to launch successive attacks, occupy more Arab land and keep the area in a state of continued instability and tension. Mr. Marwan al Qasim added that Israel always tried to cover its aggressions by the slogan of Israel's security and self-defence. If such an illogical claim found any response, 'we should inevitably find ourselves returning to the law of the jungle and destroying all international concepts of justice and right', he declared.

In Algiers on 20th July, the country's leading newspaper and official voice of the government called on the Arab nation to make an 'exceptional' effort, using all its human and material resources including oil, to oppose Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people. The article was seen by observers as an unambiguous proposal for an Arab boycott of nations that support Israel.

Since the Camp David agreements were

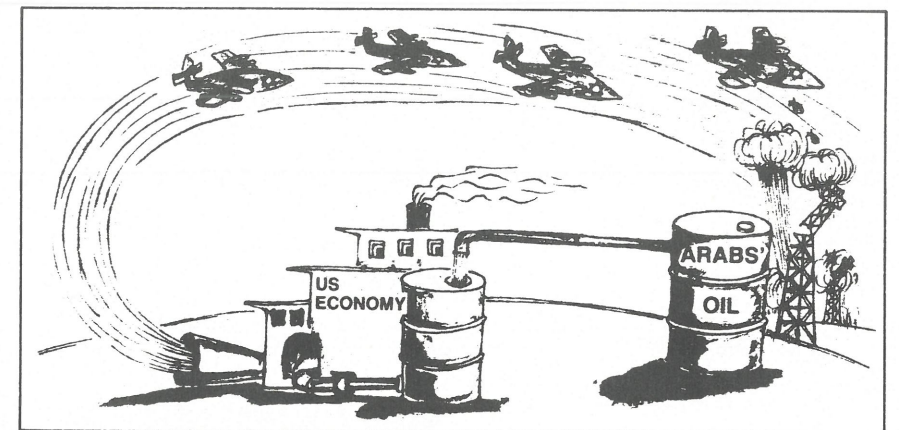
FROM JORDAN to Kuwait, Arab leaders and press have echoed the strong criticism of President Reagan and American policy towards the Arab homeland voiced by the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi in response to the July attacks by the Zionists against Lebanon and the Palestinians. Louis Eaks looks at the Arab response.

signed, said *El Moudjahid*, 'This pact of shame between the United States, Egypt and Israel, has brought total war against the Arab countries, using the most advanced and powerful western war machinery.' It echoed Qadhafi's views, declaring that 'the

current Middle East crisis is the most serious in its history', and will continue 'as long as there is no united Arab response'.

In Dubai, the English language daily *Gulf News* took a similar line. 'The Reagan administration has been responsible for enhancing the belligerence of the Zionist enemy in the recent month. In its condemnation of the recent increased violence in Lebanon, Washington has deliberately avoided naming Israel, and the official spokesman refused to link the delay on the F-16 decision with the Israeli barbarism in Beirut.'

And in Abu Dhabi, the President of the UAE, Sheikh Zayed asked on 22nd July, how the Arabs could continue 'sitting idly by while the enemy is striking at an Arab country?' He went on, 'How can we face our future generations, who will no doubt deplore our negligence and silence towards the daily violation of our lands?' Sheikh Zayed added, 'Financial aid to compensate these peoples for their recent losses is not enough.'



Qadhafi sends Open Letter to Arab Heads of State

ON 19TH July, the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi sent the following letter to Arab leaders:

"It is an extremely sad occasion that permits me once again to address you on the same subject, for it is hardly suiting for Your Excellencies' prestige that the Arabs should be destroyed through the direct use of American weapons. This, in fact, is the case in Lebanon, where the Lebanese and Palestinian people are now being slaughtered en masse by America's favourite spoilt child, Israel."

"It is hardly appropriate for Your Excellencies to accept such thoroughly insulting behaviour from the Israelis and the Americans, in spite of unlimited friendliness extended to the United States, and in spite of the millions of barrels of oil supplied by 'true blooded' Arabs to Israel via America as their contribution to the Zionist entity's giant war effort."

"We hope that your alliance with the enemy of the Arab nation is earnestly reconsidered and that cheap and plentiful oil supplies that meet only the enemy's needs are also reconsidered by all practical standards; you are in no need of those supplies. Forgive me if my letter resembles an irresponsible article, for I, on my own part, am not burdened by Your Excellencies' responsibilities. I have, furthermore, no responsibilities towards America, nor am I its presidential, kingly or princely retainer in the Arab region."

"Perhaps you may further excuse my 'irresponsibility' because no one is now interested in protecting Arab honour, save the Palestinian freedom fighters. Moreover, I bring you 'tidings' that a crucial decision might be forced on revolutionary Arabs, for if we Arabs are destined to perish, it will be by our own volition and not that of our enemies."

The hand of Deir Yassin strikes the heart of Beirut

FOLLOWING THE 17th July Zionist air strike on Beirut, a Motion was tabled in the House of Commons condemning the atrocity, and calling for tough action to restrain Israel. The Motion, which by 21st July had attracted the support of 53 MPs from all parties, read: 'That this House condemns the savage Israeli air attack on Beirut; notes that Mr. Beigin continues to act as if he is still leader of the Irgun terrorist organisation; and calls for firmer action to prevent the escalation of the conflict and the continuing slaughter of innocent civilians'.

The reminder of Beigin's history as a terrorist leader was timely. The Beirut raid should not be seen as an aberration. It was fully in keeping with Beigin's record of terrorism during the later years of the British Mandate over Palestine. Whatever else he might be, Beigin has never been inconsistent.

Beigin's Irgun Zvei Leumi terrorist group was responsible for scores of brutalities against the Palestinian Arabs, the British, and even against the Jews of Palestine. Three particularly horrific atrocities, however, have become inextricably linked with his name: the Deir Yassin massacre, the bombing of the King David Hotel and the hangings of the British sergeants.

Deir Yassin was a Palestinian village near Jerusalem, and had played no part in the hostilities between Zionists and Arabs in Palestine. But on the night of 9th/10th April 1948, Irgun terrorists entered the village and embarked on an orgy of slaughter. By the time they had finished their ugly work, 254 Arabs — men, women and children — had been butchered and mutilated. Survivors were rounded up at dawn and paraded through Jerusalem on lorries.

Jaques de Reynier, Chief Delegate of the International Red Cross in Palestine, who visited Deir Yassin shortly after the crime, said the massacre had been perpetrated 'without any military reason nor provocation of any kind — old men, women, children, newly-born were savagely assassinated with grenades and knives by Jewish troops of the Irgun, perfectly under the control and direction of their chiefs' (*A Jerusalem un Drapeau Flottait sur la Ligne de Feu*).

Beigin, characteristically, showed no remorse. On the contrary, in his book *Revolt: The Story of the Irgun*, he hails the massacre for the panic it created amongst the Palestinians, prompting them to flee the country: 'Panic overwhelmed the Arabs of Eretz Israel — the Arabs began fleeing in panic shouting "Deir Yassin" — The political and economic significance of this development can hardly be over-estimated'. Beigin positively glories in the atrocity for its contribution to the Zionists' deliberate expulsion and dispossession of the Palestinians, which was necessary if a Jewish-Zionist state were to be created in Arab Palestine.

A COMMON factor links the most brutal atrocities committed in the Zionist war against the Arabs. From Deir Yassin in 1948 to Beirut in July 1981, Menachem Beigin has played a central role in organised terrorism. Dr. Alan George looks at the record of the former Irgun terrorist now hailed as Prime Minister of the Zionist state in Palestine.

It is perhaps appropriate that a mental hospital now stands on the site of Deir Yassin. The village itself was razed to the ground by the Zionists, along with 384 others in the parts of Palestine they seized in 1948.

King David Hotel

The King David Hotel in Jerusalem housed the British military headquarters and the Palestine Government Secretariat. In the morning of 22nd July 1946 Irgun terrorists planted milk churns packed with explosives in the basement. Without any warning being issued, the charges were detonated, demolishing an entire wing of the hotel and killing 200 people. Most were British, but there were some Arabs and Jews.

An editorial in *The Times* the following day said: 'Only insensate fanaticism, the

product of perverted propaganda, can explain yesterday's outrage at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. The men who planned and executed a massacre of this kind are the dupes of an education which has taught them to rate nationalist ambitions above justice and mercy.'

One year later, on 12th July 1947, Beigin's Irgun terrorists kidnapped two British sergeants at Nataniya in northern Palestine. Three weeks after, they were murdered, their bodies were strung up in trees, and the ground beneath was mined. Reporting the discovery of the corpses, *The Times* on 1st August 1947 said: 'The bodies were found hanging in a wood. It is thought that the men had been dead for some 24 hours. As one of the bodies was cut down and hit the ground, a mine exploded. A Royal Engineer officer who was standing by was injured in the face. The ground around the tree had been mined also, but sappers cleared a path beforehand.' The two men, said the paper, had apparently been strangled before being suspended. *The Times* commented that this 'latest savagery' had 'shocked the country more than any spilling of blood since the attack on the King David Hotel'.

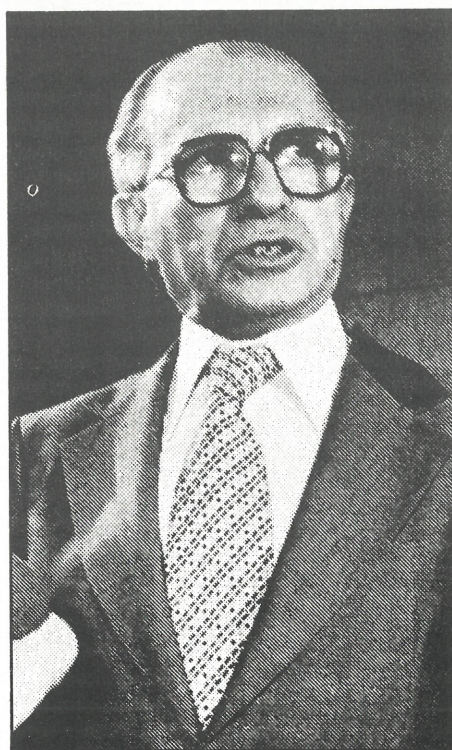
Late in 1948, shortly before the Zionist state's first general election, Beigin paid a visit to the United States. His hope was that the trip would win respectability both for himself and for his newly formed Herut party, which is now the main party within the Likud Bloc. Above all, he wanted to shed his image as a ruthless killer. A number of prominent American Jews, however, including Albert Einstein and Hannah Arendt, were so repelled by Beigin's record that they wrote to the *New York Times*, urging Americans to shun him.

Their letter, published on 4th December 1948, said: 'Among the most disturbing political phenomena of our times is the emergence in the newly created state of Israel of the Herut Party, a political party closely akin in its organisation, methods, political philosophy and social appeal to the Nazi and Fascist parties. It was formed out of the membership and following of the former Irgun Zvei Leumi, a terrorist, right wing, chauvinist organisation in Palestine.'

The signatories warned that 'the public avowals of Beigin's party are no guide whatever to its actual character. Today they speak of freedom, democracy, and anti-imperialism, whereas recently they openly preached the doctrine of the Fascist state. It is in its actions that the terrorist party betrays its real character: from its past actions we can judge what it may be expected to do in the future'.

The letter continued: 'The discrepancies between the bold claims now being made by Beigin and his party, and their record of past performance in Palestine bear the imprint of no ordinary political party. This is the unmistakable stamp of a Fascist party for whom terrorism and misrepresentation are means, and a 'Leader State' is their goal'.

The letter concluded by urging 'all concerned not to support this latest manifestation of terrorism'.



Menachem Beigin

Defiant Sahrawi women await the outcome of King Hassan's initiative to resolve the Saharan problem.



Triumph for the Jamahiriya at African summit

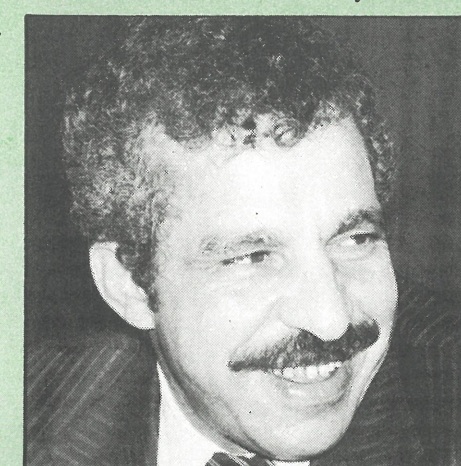
TWO MAJOR initiatives with Libyan backing were agreed by the Organisation of African Unity at its meeting in Nairobi, Kenya, at the end of June. They are designed to ensure the continuing stability of the Government of National Unity in Chad, and to bring an end to the war in the Western Sahara and secure that country's independence. A third triumph for the Libyan Jamahiriya was the agreement of the assembled countries that the next OAU summit will be in Tripoli next year, and that Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi will be Chairman of the OAU for the year following that meeting.

The support which Libyan policies have gained among African nations came as a serious blow for the United States, which has sought to portray Libya as isolated and extremist in its policies. The Reagan Administration's chagrin was openly demonstrated by a peeved State Department spokesman, Dean Fisher, who described the choice of Tripoli as the venue for next year's summit as 'inappropriate', and resurrected the familiar US claims that Libya supports 'international terrorism'.

In reply, Ibrahim al-Bishari, Secretary of the Administrative Committee for

Revolutionary Information, said in Tripoli on 1st July that the Fisher statement was 'interference in the internal affairs of African countries which are independent sovereign states and members of an international organisation.' Mr Bishari added: 'The decision to hold the next conference in Libya affirms Libya's distinguished standing in Africa, whether America likes it or not.'

The persistent myth which abounds in the western media — that Libya invaded



Dr. Ali Abdul Salem Treiki

DESPITE STRONG American pressures to isolate the Libyan Jamahiriya, the OAU summit in Nairobi responded favourably to a series of Libyan initiatives aimed at stability on the African continent. By the end of the summit, American influence in Africa had received a series of defeats, as Phil Kelly explains.

Chad, and that its continuing military presence there is unwelcome to the Chad government and people — should finally have been laid to rest by the results of the Nairobi summit. In the weeks preceding the OAU conference, the western media was replete with tales — many of them originating from the state-run news organisations of Sudan — that OAU member countries were opposed to Libyan action in Chad, and that they were about to condemn it.

Typical of the Sudanese distortions was the description by that country's delegates of Libya's role in Chad as a sign of 'expansionist ambitions', a theme echoed by the British Zionist and commentator on African affairs, Colin Legum, who claimed in a newspaper article on the eve of the summit that 'Libya faces an African majority ready to back demands that its Army should withdraw from Chad where it successfully intervened last year' (*The Observer*, 21st June 1981).

The impression which pro-American countries and columnists have been trying to create is that Libya is reluctant to move its troops out of Chad, and that it is seeking any means to avoid pressure to do so. In fact, Libya intervened in Chad at the express wish of the government of ▶

national unity headed by President Goukouni Oueddei. Its troops are being withdrawn slowly, but some must remain, because Sudan and Egypt are arming guerrillas loyal to the former Chadian Defence Minister, Hissan Habre, who rebelled against the government and is now attempting to revive the civil war.

In his report to the assembled African heads of state, OAU Secretary General Edem Kodjo reported that the Government of Chad considered that the Libyan troops 'had been sent at its request'. The current Chairman of the OAU, President Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone, summed up the situation when he told delegates that although Libya's actions in Chad had succeeded in securing peace in that country, its presence there was 'not strictly within the confines of the OAU efforts for a solution of the problem' and, referring to Sudanese, Egyptian and other objections, 'had not met with general approbation'.

Nevertheless, President Stevens told the summit, the necessity to internationalise the peacekeeping force had been accepted by all participants at talks on Chad held in Ndjamena in May; those concerned were President Oueddei, Muammer Qadhafi, President Stevens and President Shagari of Nigeria. But the problems which delegates at the OAU encountered were over the organisation and financing of a pan-African force to guarantee stability in Chad. The adopted resolution reaffirmed the right of the government of Chad to call on anyone it wished to maintain security in the country. In a calculated attack on the policies of Sudan and Egypt, it called on all countries to support the government of President Oueddei, particularly in the economic reconstruction of Chad, which has been devastated by decades of French colonial rule and years of civil war.

Faced with the difficulties of creating an international force to replace the Libyans, the OAU agreed to solicit help to build up Chad's national army. 'While we face a rebellion sponsored by a neighbouring country,' President Oueddei said, 'we obviously need help keeping the peace. So far the OAU is only talking about sending in a pan-African force to help us' (*The Economist*, 4th July 1981).

The Libyan Foreign Secretary, Dr Ali Abdul Salem Treiki, stressed that the resolution was completely in line with Libya's desire to leave Chad. 'The OAU thanked Libya for establishing peace in Chad,' he said. 'Whenever a Chadian contingent is formed, a Libyan contingent is withdrawn. After there is peace in Chad, whenever the Chadian government asks us and feels secure, we'll leave immediately.'

Rapprochement

The OAU summit also saw a major step forward over the future of the former Spanish colony of Western Sahara, where troops of the Front of Liberation of the Sahara and Rio d'Oro, Polisario, have gained the upper hand over the forces of

Africans slam US support of apartheid

TOP OF the agenda at the OAU summit were the continuing problems caused for the continent by the apartheid regime in South Africa. African leaders denounced the 'unholy alliance' which had been forged between the South Africans and the Reagan administration, in particular as it affects the future of Namibia, which is illegally occupied by South Africa. The summit agreed to renew military and other aid for the South West African People's Organisation, SWAPO, which is fighting to liberate Namibia. They urged also the complete implementation of UN resolution 435 which calls for immediate independence for Namibia under UN auspices.

African leaders sharply criticised the actions of the group of five western nations which have been holding talks about the future of Namibia with the South African Government.

The summit also agreed that military and other aid should be provided for

the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress of South Africa. It strongly condemned sporting links with South Africa, and called on the New Zealand government to cancel the planned tour by a South African rugby team in their country. If this does not happen, the OAU is calling on all its member countries henceforth to bar all New Zealand nationals from international sporting events.

African countries will also insist that the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' meeting should not take place in the New Zealand capital, Wellington, and that New Zealand should be excluded from next year's Commonwealth Games in Australia.

On Palestine, the OAU re-affirmed its support for the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians and for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a state of their own in Palestine. The summit also condemned Israeli aggression against Lebanon and Iraq.

King Hassan of Morocco which have been attempting to annex the territory. As well as military superiority, the Polisario Front had won the support of a majority of African States in recognising the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, SADR, which it has created in those parts of the western Sahara which it controls.

The African leaders might have been presented with a situation where the SADR was recognised as a full OAU member, in which case, King Hassan had threatened to pull Morocco out of the Organisation. Libya is a staunch supporter of the cause of Sahrawi independence, but saw that if Morocco was forced out of the OAU by the recognition of the SADR, it would be energetically courted by the Sadat regime in Egypt, by Sudan, and by America's other surrogate states in Africa.

Intense diplomatic contact immediately before the summit, including the visits of Libyan and Moroccan envoys to each other's capitals, resulted in the resumption of diplomatic relations between Tripoli and Rabat, which had been broken last year by the Moroccans. Much of the momentum behind the initiative came from Brother Muammer Qadhafi's call, made on 11th June for greater unity in Arab ranks in the wake of the Zionist attack on Iraq.

At a press conference in Nairobi, the Libyan Foreign Liaison Secretary, Abdul Ati Obeidi, said that Libya now aimed at bringing the participants in the Western Sahara dispute to the conference table. The SADR Information Minister, Ould Salek, said that the restoration of diplomatic relations between Libya and Morocco was a victory for the Polisario.

'Morocco broke off relations with Libya because Libya recognised the SADR. Libya still recognises the SADR. If Morocco is now prepared to resume diplomatic relations with Libya, its own hard line on Western Sahara must be softening' (*The Economist*, 27th June 1981).

This indeed proved to be the case. The OAU approved a resolution calling for the future of the Western Sahara to be decided by a referendum under joint OAU-United Nations auspices, a move actually called for by King Hassan himself in Nairobi. This represents a major shift in Moroccan policy on the Sahara; King Hassan has previously steadfastly refused to consult the people of Western Sahara about their future. Polisario's Secretary General, Mohammed Abdel Aziz, announced that they too would support the referendum.

A further boost for Libya's drive for Arab unity came from Mauritania, which supports Polisario and which ended its war in the Western Sahara over a year ago, also agreed to renew diplomatic links with Morocco. Talks will now be held centring round the conduct of the referendum and whether or not Moroccan troops should be withdrawn while it is conducted. An OAU ministerial committee will meet in Nairobi in August to take the matter further.

Dr Treiki told a press conference at the end of the meeting: 'I can say with humility that Libya was the star of the OAU'. The London weekly *The Economist* on 4th July commented: 'Libya walked away from Africa's most important forum with its arms full of diplomatic laurels.'

Tuesday Market sets the style for Libyan shoppers

IT IS a characteristic of the oil producing states that consumer goods in the shops are highly priced. In part it is the result of under-development which forces these countries to import everything from soap to shoes, and all that a rapidly improving consumer society demands. At the same time, however, prices are pushed skywards by import agents taking their mark-up, often excessive and in return for little or no work.

In its efforts to remove exploitation from its society, Libya has embarked on a major programme to establish a chain of supermarkets throughout the Jamahiriya which will mark the end of high prices and profiteering by merchants. As the new markets open, the traditional private enterprise running of the retail industry will be forced to close down, unable to match the cut-price offers of the new enterprises, and under instructions to meet an end of the year deadline which will see the removal of all private trade outlets in Libya.

It is now almost two years since the plan for these people's co-operatives were first announced, and in recent weeks a number of the new supermarkets have opened in the Jamahiriya. The latest, on 13th July, opened in Misurata and included a clothing, textiles and footwear market, and two distribution centres for food and household goods. Hand-in-hand with the new retail outlets, the Libyan planners have invested heavily in creating an efficient back-up service by developing a distribution network to ensure that a wide range of goods is available in the stores.

State run retailing is generally associated with shortage of goods, limited ranges, and poor quality. So how successful is the Libyan entry into the era of people's co-operatives? Two western

THROUGHOUT LIBYA new shopping supermarkets are beginning to appear, as part of the country's efforts to remove profiteering and provide Libyan shoppers with low-price goods. Two western journalists attended the recent opening of the Tuesday Market in Tripoli and were impressed.

journalists, Robin Wright who reported in *The Guardian* on 15th July, and David Willey whose impressions were published in *The Observer* on 21st June, were in Tripoli when Muammer Qadhafi opened the Tuesday Market in the Libyan capital.

As David Willey reported, 'The Tuesday Market is the fifth five-storey government owned department store to open in the Libyan capital. It sells everything from Dutch biscuits to American shirts, fine French cheeses, the latest Japanese transistors and video gear, pharmaceuticals, sportswear, furniture, carpets, and underwear. There is even a gold department on the first floor where rich Libyans can deck out their women like the Queen of Sheba.'

Profit-free

Robin Wright was also impressed by the range of goods and the prices. He told *Guardian* readers, 'The low prices and variety of goods make the Tuesday Market amongst the best on the African continent'. He continued, 'The store's director explained why a Sony shortwave radio was

cheaper (£43) than in a Tokyo retail shop: the prices are better than duty-free, he boasted, 'they're profit-free'. The mark-up is generally between 1 and 2 per cent, just enough to cover operational costs. The government buys in bulk, eliminating some 1,800 import intermediaries — and their charges.'

David Willey also referred to the low prices: 'Prices in this Aladdin's cave of consumer delights are much cheaper than in the average European supermarket, and it is open not only to foreigners and cadres as in most socialist countries, but to anyone who can pay dinars at the checkout point.'

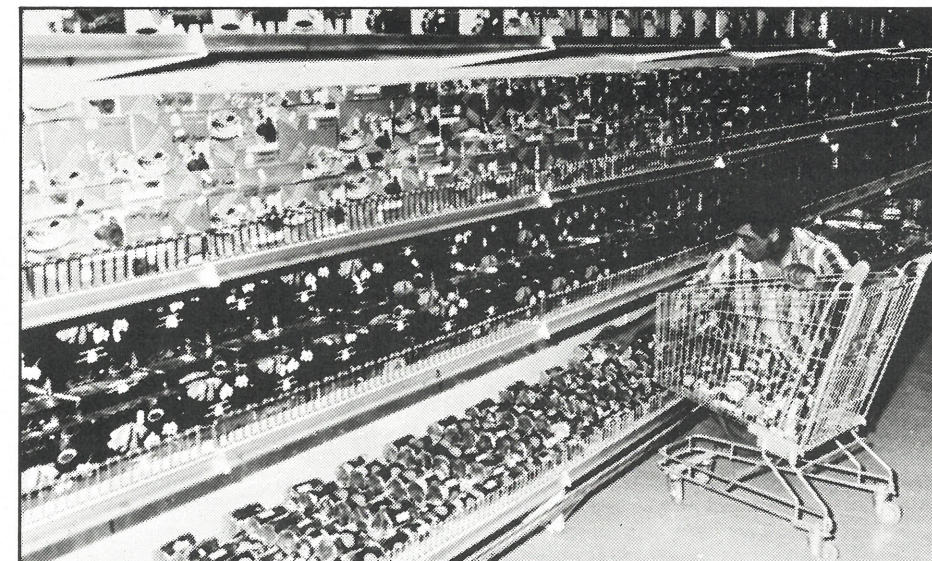
Robin Wright points out that the Tuesday Market represents only one aspect of a major transformation of Libyan society since the 1969 Revolution. 'The stores are one of the ways Qadhafi is using his petrodollars — estimated at \$20 billion for 1981 — to spread the wealth among Libya's small population.'

He continues, 'The economic overhaul means that families who lived in tents or shacks a decade ago are now installed in two- or three-bedroomed flats. It is not unusual to find that the son has a Sony radio, the daughters Italian or French dresses, the father an American watch and the mother her first proper kitchen. There are few cars more than two years old on the roads, and four-laned highways have replaced single track roads. Television antennae sprout from the new high-rise apartment and office buildings that are transforming the skylines of scruffy Tripoli and Benghazi. Libya has become a rich consumer society, relishing its riches.'

One Western ambassador is quoted by Wright as observing, 'It must be said that money does percolate down to the ordinary Libyan.'



The Tuesday Market in Tripoli (left) offers a wide range of low-cost consumer and household goods.





Egyptian opposition faces Sadat crackdown

EGYPTIAN RULER Anwar Sadat is facing growing internal opposition, and is responding by attacking all those groups who openly oppose his policies. Opposition to the Sadat regime comes equally from the distaste felt by Egyptians from all walks of life for the separate peace treaty with Israel, which they see as an abandonment of the Arab cause, and from the economic problems which have been imported into the country by Sadat's 'open door' economic policy.

The economic problems are serious. Part of the deal which drew Sadat into the US-Israeli axis at Camp David was the promise from then US President Jimmy Carter of vast amounts of aid from the US, and the offer of increasing private investment. The private investment has not come; the economic crisis in the capitalist world has meant that multinationals are investing only in countries which are completely 'safe' — where the people are so repressed by the regime as to offer absolutely no threat to foreign companies' exploitative activities.

Public sector aid from the United States has been on offer; the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), has earmarked some \$357 million for agriculture in Egypt since 1976, but only \$61.8 million has actually been spent. The blame for this is often placed on inefficiency in the Egyptian economy, but the underlying problem seems to be that USAID and other western agencies are insisting on pushing the development of capital-intensive farming methods, when Egypt's main problem is not a shortage of labour, but the fact that most of its people are unemployed and without productive work to do.

Israel is also backing the drive to force inappropriate farming methods on

THE EGYPTIAN and Sudanese regimes are becoming increasingly identified by their common disregard for political rights, and their rigid clampdown on opposition organisations and personalities. A special correspondent examines the increasing violations of civil rights in the two countries, and points to the similarity of economic planning and the subservience to the United States as a prime cause of political unrest.

Egypt. Zionist Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, the man responsible for the expropriation of Arab land in occupied Palestine, has offered Egypt the technology to construct intensive farms for vegetables and beef cattle.

Politically, the main thrust of the Sadat regime has been to discredit the achievements of the Egyptian revolution and Gamal Abdel Nasser. All Egypt's opposition groups derive their positions from Nasser's ideas, Islamic, pan-Arab and socialist, though each group stresses different parts of the Nasserite inheritance.

Having abandoned Nasserist policies, Sadat has sought to discredit Nasser as a leader. In May, Sadat's relative, Deputy Prime Minister Osman Ahmad Osman, was dismissed after alleging in a book that Nasser had ordered Osman's

building firm to construct villas for his family using state funds. Sadat's daughter is married to Osman's eldest son. It was widely accepted that Sadat had encouraged Osman, one of Egypt's leading capitalists, to cross the line between attacks on Nasser's policies and attacks on the revolutionary leader himself. But the memory of Nasser is still too potent in the minds of the Egyptian people, and Osman was forced to resign.

All sectors of the opposition have been hit by Sadat. At the end of March, 76 opposition figures were rounded up, and accused of being 'communists' in contact with Moscow, and attempting to set up a new communist organisation. It suits Sadat, in line with the simplistic views of the Reagan administration on which he now depends, to brand all opposition to his policies as 'communist'. The London weekly *8 Days* commented that Sadat's actions had conferred on the Communists far more importance than they deserved.

The real target of Sadat's action was not the 'communists', but Egypt's widely supported main opposition group, the National Progressive Unionist Grouping, NPUG. Forty-six of those arrested were said to be members of this group, which is headed by Khaled Muheiddin.

Among internal dissidents held by Sadat is the poet Ahmed Fuad Najm. He has been tortured, and is suffering from infectious ulcers as a result of prison conditions. He has started a hunger strike in protest against his detention, and is reported to be near death.

Of those arrested, 41 are still believed to be detained without trial for further questioning. They include trade unionists and professional people. It is generally thought that the arrests were aimed at wiping out support for a new grouping which aims to unite internal opposition groups like the NPUG and opponents of Sadat who have been forced into exile, such as the former Army Commander, Sa'ad ad Din Shazli, and two former Cabinet members.

This group, the Egyptian National Democratic Front, NDF, has also been attacked by Sadat. Though its leading members are abroad, they have been arraigned by the 'Socialist Prosecutor-General' on charges of buying up arms to overthrow the Sadat regime by force. Eighteen NDF leaders outside the country were accused in June. Though they are beyond the jurisdiction of Sadat their families are not; they have been harassed and had their property seized by the regime under the so-called 'law of shame', a legal instrument for suppressing criticism. It makes political opposition, termed 'disrespect for the state', a crime, and also makes opposition organisation, and publishing illegal.

Sadat has also threatened opposition figures and Egyptian journalists abroad to return home 'or face disciplinary action,' the *Daily Telegraph* reported on 1st April 1981.

Stung by the opposition of Egypt's

journalists' union, the Press Syndicate, Sadat tried to take it over in April. The official candidate for the Chairmanship, Salah Galal, bought the votes he needed for success by offering younger journalists flats — living accommodation is extremely expensive in Cairo — and a fifty per cent increase in pensions for retired members. Though Galal won, the opposition nevertheless held on to seven of the twelve seats on the Syndicate's board.

Even the moderate opposition inside Sadat's rubber-stamp National Assembly has been threatened. The parliamentary opposition, the Socialist Labour Party, has been ever more critical of Sadat in recent months. Its leader, Ibrahim Shukri, has withdrawn the party's qualified support of the Camp David process, and angered Sadat by attending the Palestine National Council meeting in Damascus in May. The SLP also backed Syria in the recent crisis provoked by Israel over the stationing of missiles in Lebanon. According to a *Reuter* report from Cairo on 1st June 1981, Sadat claimed that the SLP was weak and irresponsible, and 'could not grasp the real nature of opposition'. As the SLP, like its predecessor 'opposition parties', was officially founded by the regime, its critical attitude to the regime's policies is surprising, and reflects the depth of feeling against Sadat. The *Reuter* report added that Sadat was considering creating a new 'opposition' party from within the ranks of his own ruling party, the National Democratic Party; a cabinet minister had been asked if plans were afoot to nominate him as Leader of the Opposition in Shukri's stead.

Opposition leaders have said that the disturbances which broke out between Muslims and Coptic Christians, which left at least 14 people dead in Cairo's poorer areas at the end of June, were fomented by the regime in order to divide the opposition to Sadat along religious lines. 'Religious' riots have occurred on five occasions over the past ten years when there has been opposition to the Sadat regime. The riots on this occasion followed a meeting where opposition leaders from marxist, centrist and Islamic groups had denounced the Camp David process in general and the Israeli attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor in particular.

Meanwhile, 'order' is being maintained by Sadat's newly trained 'Special Forces', an internal security force better armed than the police, and under the direct control of the Interior Ministry. The force is highly mobile and is moved around the country to suppress opposition demonstrations. Their weapons and armoured cars are provided by the Americans. Military aid for Egypt from the United States has reached a massive \$900 million per year, second only to the Zionist state. Sadat is offering his country as a base for US military activity in the region. There are all the signs that within a very short time, the US will find itself with a second Iran on its hands.



Numeiri's regime watches the country disintegrate

SUDAN'S ECONOMY is collapsing as a result of the right-wing lurch of the regime of Jaafar Numeiri. The worst of the problems are marginally alleviated by the support of the Americans; the United States Agency for International Development gives the country about \$100 million each year, according to the Director of the USAID mission in Khartoum, Arthur Mudge. About a quarter of this must be used to buy food; despite being situated on the Nile, the river which throughout history has watered agricultural lands on which successive civilisations have been built, Numeiri's regime cannot feed its own people.

Time and time again, international development agencies have suggested that Sudan could in the right circumstances be transformed into the breadbasket of Africa. But the Numeiri regime has become increasingly closely aligned with that of Egyptian ruler Anwar Sadat. The 'open door' economic policy followed by both regimes was supposed, according to western economic theory, to attract investment. However, all evidence shows this to be a misguided approach to economic planning.

It has meant that the Sudanese people have been forced to tolerate dropping standards of living, and recent events suggest the strain has become too much. On 30th May, the Sudanese Railway workers began a strike over wages intended to last five days. The regime reacted with predictable ferocity. Troops and police raided offices of the railway workers' trade union, and seized officials and material relating to the strike and the pay claim. The leader of the Union, Abbas al-Khadr, was banned from political and union activity, and the union was pronounced 'dissolved'.

But the strike did not end. Although in some areas a few workers were intimidated into returning, Sudanese railways are still not functioning,

although troops have been brought in to maintain a skeleton service. In the early part of June, river workers and catering workers joined the action, and there have been clashes between the people and the regime's police.

Opposition to Numeiri's policies is now widespread. In May, the regime's official news agency disclosed that a 'large communist hideout' in Omdurman had been raided, and that printing equipment and printed material had been seized. The state-controlled news agency said that the discovery had been made in the course of operations in various parts of the country by the security forces.

The Numeiri tactic is, like Sadat, to brand all his opponents as 'communists'. However the opposition is clearly too widespread, among peasants and the professional classes as well as among workers, to be the work of a single political group. Doctors and lawyers, as well as farm workers, have also stopped work during June.

As the Arab People's Congress said in a recent statement, the developments in the Sudan have been 'a genuine expression of the Sudanese people's rejection of the external and internal policies pursued by the Sudan'. The pan-Arab body added that the uprising 'shows the absolute rejection of the policies of suppression of the people and the unions'.

In order to clamp down on opposition to the regime's economic policies, and to the alliance between Egypt and Sudan, many arrests have been made of actual and potential opposition leaders. At the end of March, at least 11 people were arrested, including a retired General, Sa'ad Bahr, six other military personnel and a former member of the National Assembly, dissolved by Numeiri to stifle its critical members. These arrests followed immediately on the decision to strengthen relationships with Egypt. Again in May, a wider group of military officers was rounded up, apparently because they opposed the introduction of growing numbers of Egyptian 'advisers' into the Sudanese Army, a direct consequence of Numeiri's waning trust in his own soldiers in the light of their disenchantment with the regime.

Sudan's support for the rebel leader Hassan Habre in Chad is mainly directed towards creating the spectre of an 'external threat' to the Sudan in order to paralyse the opposition and brand them as disloyal.

The visit to Sudan in May by Anwar Sadat was intended to demonstrate that the two leaders were in control of their countries, and was to have served as a rebuff to those who stressed the isolation of the two regimes in the Arab world. The visit has in fact served to strengthen the efforts of the opposition in both countries.

Cyprus: The search for national unity

THE EASTERN Mediterranean island of Cyprus has for centuries played a key strategic role in Middle Eastern affairs because of its crucial location. Not only is it the sole large island that lies both in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean, but it is also the easternmost of a string of major islands in the Mediterranean that have been the target of all who have sought to dominate the inland sea and its shores.

Foreign domination of Cyprus has been aided immeasurably by the persistent friction between the island's two main communities — the Greek majority and the Turkish minority. Their tenacious efforts to retain their separate identities and protect their own perceived communal interests have thwarted the emergence of a genuine Cypriot nation, and opened the way for external manipulation.

The Cyprus problem is the subject of one of the studies in a collection of essays published to mark the retirement of Professor W B Fisher as head of Durham University's Geography Department. Written by Michael Drury, a Durham geography lecturer, the essay offers a penetrating insight into the key factors underlying the continuing conflict in the island, with a valuable emphasis on the geographical circumstances that have contributed to the strife.

Drury stresses that 'through a succession of Eurocentric eyes, the Mediterranean was seen as a convenient and central corridor for all forms of advance, economic, military and cultural,' adding, 'For at least 3,000 years successive peoples have come to regard control of bases within the Mediterranean as crucial to the advancement of their own interests.' The Balearics, he recalls, changed international hands seven times during the eighteenth century. Corfu, commanding the Strait of Otranto, and therefore the Adriatic, experienced five such changes in the nineteenth century.

As the easternmost of the Mediterranean's 'moated fortresses', Cyprus has attracted the attention of successive powers intent on influencing events in the surrounding Mediterranean lands. The latest was Britain, which in 1878 gained control of Cyprus from an ailing Ottoman Empire. Today, the British NATO bases, which cover an astonishing three per cent of the island's entire area, bear striking witness to the continuing strategic importance of Cyprus.

The 1960 Independence Constitution was framed by Britain, Greece and Turkey to appease the anti-colonialist feelings of the Greek majority; to allay the

THE DIVISIONS and instability which characterise the island state of Cyprus continue to pose serious problems for Mediterranean peace and security. Dr Alan George reviews a new book which examines some of the underlying causes which have led to the island's partition.

Turkish minority's fears for their security and status, particularly if Enosis — union with Greece — were ever to come about, as many Greeks wished; and to secure British military interests. The initial calm that accompanied independence, however, was shattered as inter-communal tensions escalated into violence in late 1963. This caused the Turks, a minority by 5:1, to withdraw from all aspects of Cypriot national life. They also 'withdrew' in another sense. Those who felt their homes lay in vulnerable areas moved either into solidly Turkish enclaves in the five major towns, or into rural areas where large single villages or clusters of small Turkish villages offered, it seemed, the prospect of better defence. Besides the five towns, fifty clearly defined rural Turkish enclaves emerged, accounting for some 10 per cent of the island's area.

These ethnic enclaves survived for a decade for three main reasons. First, the Turkish community insisted that they should be maintained as a guarantee of their security. And they were able to back up their demand by invoking the threat of assistance from Turkey. Second, the Greek Cypriot government reacted to the enclaves simply by ignoring them. Roads, electricity grids and water distribution systems were built to by-pass them. The enclaves became less and less of a problem from the point of view of the central government as they drifted further and further away from the mainstream of Cypriot economic life. And in those ten years, the Cypriot economy witnessed rapid growth. As Drury says: 'Standards of living rose visibly on all Greek sides, the Turkish element was left to stew in its own juice.' Turkish resentment naturally grew. The third factor ensuring the survival of the Turkish enclaves was the United Nations, whose forces arrived in 1964 to maintain the ceasefire, and thus the status quo.

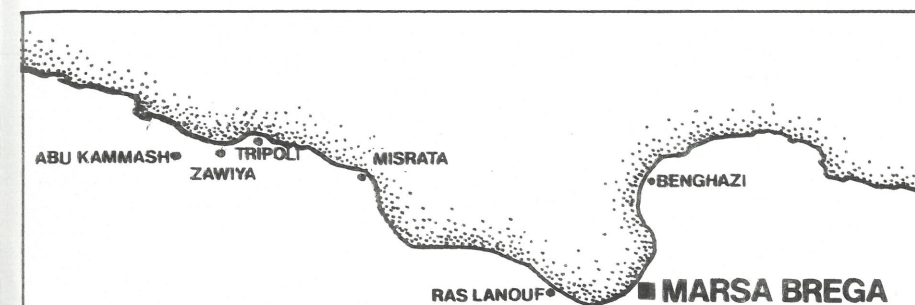
Invasion

By 1974, however, the fascist regime of the Colonels in Greece was growing increasingly unpopular at home and needed a victory to bolster its flagging image. It chose Cyprus as the scene for the public relations exercise. The Colonels engineered the temporary overthrow of Cypriot President Makarios by Nicos Sampson, a national guardsman who was committed to Enosis. Turkey at once invaded, which it had the right to do under the Independence Constitution. This provided for such intervention by Britain, Greece and Turkey in the event of a threat to the constitutional *status quo*. The island became formally divided for the first time since independence, with the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus being established in the north. The deadlock continues to this day.

The intransigence of the island's two communities has been a major factor in the Cyprus tragedy. But, as Drury points out, 'Such intransigence is perfectly understandable: on only the most infrequent occasions have the two communities been encouraged to think as one; usually their distinctive traits and aspirations have provided fertile pasture for external manipulation.' He adds that there is now a growing awareness of this — in both camps.

Drury concludes with a plea for the Cypriot people as a whole to bury their differences so that they might forge their destiny independently of outside powers: 'Should the Cypriots be tempted to forget that it is their island rather than themselves which has made them such a popular target for international attention, they should be reminded of this by the American decision to supply arms again to Turkey because of the latter's strategic role in the western alliance and by the Graeco-Turkish wranglings over the ownership of the Aegean seabed and its possible oil deposits, in both of which incidents Cyprus has emerged as a key bargaining point.' He stresses that 'unless alone and unaided they put their own house in order, they are as unlikely to be consulted by the international community about their fate now as they were when Britain, Greece and Turkey arranged for them to emerge into independence on such disastrously weak foundations in 1960'.

□ *Change and development in the Middle East, Essays in honour of W B Fisher. Edited by John I Clarke and Howard Bowen-Jones. Methuen, London 1981. 322 pages. Price £18.50.*



Industrial cities of the Jamahiriya 3. Marsa Brega: From oil terminal to petro-chemical giant

BEFORE THE 1969 Revolution, Marsa Brega, on the Jamahiriya's coast about 150 miles south west of Benghazi, could hardly have been described as an industrial town. A small oil refinery, built by Esso with a capacity of 8,000 barrels of oil per day began operating in 1963, and a natural gas liquefaction plant was opened in 1969. Marsa Brega was also the site of one of Esso's oil terminals. But that was the whole of the town's far from impressive industrial base.

Today, however, Marsa Brega is being developed into a major industrial centre, based on a complex of petrochemical plants that bear eloquent witness to the Jamahiriya's determination to diversify the economy away from its continuing dependence on the export of crude oil. It is one of several such coastal towns that are the focus of energetic development efforts that provide both for the establishment of new industries and for major urban development programmes.

Marsa Brega is destined to become the Jamahiriya's centre for methanol, urea-based fertiliser and ammonia production. The first of the town's new industrial projects opened in October 1977 — a \$190 million ammonia plant with a daily capacity of 2,000 tonnes, and a methanol plant with a daily output capacity of 1,000 tonnes, both built by West Germany's Friedrich Uhde. The success of these ventures was underlined in May this year when the Jamahiriya news agency JANA reported that output at the methanol plant had totalled 322,233 tonnes last year, and that the plant is now working two shifts per day. In the first quarter of 1981, said the report, the plant produced 96,474 tonnes — more than one third of the total for the whole of last year.

Construction is nearing completion on a second ammonia plant, being built by Snamprogetti and Saipem, both subsidiaries of the Italian state hydrocarbons

AS PART of her ambitious development programme, the Libyan Jamahiriya is transforming a number of her coastal towns into major industrial cities. In the third of a series of reports on the emergent towns, Dr Alan George reviews developments at Marsa Brega.

concern Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi. The \$150 million plant will also have a daily output of 1,000 tonnes. A second 1,000 tonnes per day methanol plant is also planned, to begin operation in late 1983. A consortium of West Germany's Uhde and Italy's Belleli Industrie Meccaniche is reported to be on the point of signing the \$100 million construction contract.

Expansion

Marsa Brega's first urea plant entered production early last year. Built at a cost of \$100 million by Italy's Foster Wheeler Italiana, the initial output capacity of 1,000 tonnes per day is scheduled to be expanded to 1,750 tonnes. A second urea plant, with a daily capacity of 1,000 tonnes, has also entered operation. The \$40 million plant was built by Belleli Industrie Meccaniche and was expected to employ 500 workers. The \$97 million contract for a third urea plant, with a capacity of 1,750 tonnes per day, was won last January by the same consortium that is expected to build the second methanol plant. Completion is scheduled for late 1983.

The raw materials for the industrial plants at Marsa Brega are piped north from the Hataiba gas field deep in the Sahara, and another gas pipeline is being constructed to link Marsa Brega with the

emergent steel town of Misrata, on the coast some 500 kilometres to the west. Last May it was disclosed that a \$66 million contract for the supply of 110,000 tonnes of 34 inch steel pipe for the Marsa Brega-Misrata line had been won by Italy's Italsider, with delivery to be completed in the middle of this year.

Developments at Marsa Brega have not been confined to the establishment of new petrochemicals industries. Tender documents are shortly to be issued for the construction of a \$500 million new town to house workers at the new industrial plants. The new town, based around six neighbourhoods, will accommodate 45,000 people at the end of the first construction phase in 1985. Each of these communities will have 1,200 homes plus schools, mosques and related roads and utility services. Work on the scheme is expected to start before the end of the year. The town's construction will be supervised by an American joint venture of architects and planners, McGaughey, Marshall, McMillan and the engineering company Holmes & Narver.

Marsa Brega lies in a very arid zone of the Jamahiriya's coast, and sea water desalination plants are therefore essential both for the industrial plants and for domestic consumption. In March West Germany's Friedrich Krupp won a \$9.2 million contract for the supply of two desalination plants for Marsa Brega, each to have a daily capacity of 2.4 million litres and both to be operational by the middle of next year.

In May this year the Jamahiriya moved to acquire a 51 per cent share in Marsa Brega's natural gas liquefaction plant, underlining her commitment to retain control over her economy. The plant had been excluded from 1974 legislation which gave the state a 51 per cent stake in the US company's Libyan interests. About 65 per cent of the plant's 100,000 barrels per day exports currently go to Italy, and the rest to Spain.

Technical skills

Libya is aware, however, that national ownership of her resources and industrial establishments will not by itself free her economy from foreign control. So long as shortages of skilled labour prevail amongst Libyans, foreign technicians will be indispensable for the operation of her ultra-modern industrial plants. The Jamahiriya's planners have therefore placed consistent emphasis on the acquisition of technical skills by Libyans, an objective that is central to the new \$62.5 billion development plan for the 1981-85 period, unveiled in January. This determination to dispense with the services of foreign technicians was underlined by last December's announcement that a new technical university, which will include faculties of petroleum and electronics, is to be built at Marsa Brega. With such a wide range of oil-related industries being developed in the town, a more suitable location for the university is difficult to imagine.

Libyan oil price cut will aid Third World

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has cut the price of her oil by \$1 per barrel, bringing her price into line with those of the other major African producers, Algeria and Nigeria. The new price of \$40 per barrel came into force on 1st July. One effect will be to reduce sharply the oil import bills of Third World countries.

The move comes in the context of a general fall in oil prices caused by a worldwide surplus. This in turn stems from falling demand in the industrialised countries because of their economic slow-down, and from deliberate over-production by Saudi Arabia, acting at the behest of America.

There is no sign, however, that the Jamahiriya is to bow to the demands of the international oil companies that she cut her oil price further, to \$35 per barrel.

Arabs defy America and lend to Fiat

IN THE face of clear disapproval by Washington, the Libyan Jamahiriya has joined with Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates in extending to the Italian Fiat conglomerate a major loan on extremely favourable terms. Libya already has an interest in Fiat, having acquired a 10 per cent stake in the company in 1977.

The Arab Banking Corporation, whose director, Abdullah Saudi, is Libya's representative on the Fiat board of directors, together with the Kuwait Foreign Trading Corporation, and Gulf International (acting on behalf of the UAE) will contribute \$150 million of a \$200 million loan. The European banks involved, and charged with managing the loan, are Italy's Banca Commerciale and Britain's National Westminster Bank. The loan is for seven years, with a four year grace period, and carries a low interest rate.

Observers are contrasting the Arabs' generosity and readiness to come to Fiat's aid with their spurning of the US Chrysler corporation a few months ago. The American car giant was desperate for cash but was not offered a cent of Arab money. And the loan to Fiat comes when investment in the US is attractive because of high interest rates and the strong dollar, and despite a recent fall in the value of the Italian company's shares.

At a recent conference of Italian industrialists, attended by Fiat chief Gianni Agnelli, former

US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger spoke unequivocally of Washington's concern over the growing economic ties between Europe and the Arabs. The announcement of the loan suggests a clear intention, both by Europeans and Arabs, to ignore US attempts to thwart the development of closer Euro-Arab relations.

\$500 million investment in steel projects

SINCE THE beginning of this year and the launch of the Jamahiriya's new \$62.5 billion five year development plan, hardly a month has passed without the announcement of major contracts for Libya's first integrated steelworks, to be built at Misrata, on the coast some 150 kilometres east of Tripoli. The plant forms a centre-piece of the new plan and its \$3,300 million first phase, scheduled for completion in 1985, will have an annual capacity of 1.2 million tonnes.

Recent weeks have seen the award of contracts for the steelworks and associated facilities valued at more than \$500 million. An Italian consortium headed by Techint and Fiat Engineering has signed a \$300 million turnkey contract for the supply of water treatment and electrical equipment for the scheme. A 20,000 cubic metres per day capacity plant will treat water and industrial waste, while an electrical substation will include 200 kV circuit breakers, and 220/31.5 kV and 30/10.5 kV transformers and inter-connections.

The contract also provides for the construction of storage buildings and an electrical repair workshop, as well as for the supply of engineering and site supervision services. All the physical plant is scheduled for completion in three years. The consortium is also to train Libyan technicians and, after the plants' commissioning, provide one year's back-up assistance and three years' technical support.

Techint and Fiat Engineering have won another contract, valued at \$27 million, for the supply of mobile equipment, including lorries, lift trucks and mobile cranes, *Middle East Economic Digest* reported on 19th June. It added that West Germany's Siemens has ordered two gas turbines from Sulzer of Switzerland to supply power both during construction of the Misrata complex and after it enters operation.

West Germany's Brown Boverie & Compagnie, together with its Swiss parent company of the same name, has won a \$56.8 million contract to supply all the

electrical equipment for the cold rolling mill to be built at the Misrata steelworks. The two companies have also won a \$28.7 million contract for the steelworks' power and lighting systems.

Under the general contract for the steelworks announced in February, a consortium led by Austria's Voest-Alpine is to build the \$234 million cold rolling mill. This will produce 140,000 tonnes of sheet and coil, and 100,000 tonnes of untreated sheet per annum. Voest-Alpine's total share of the general contract won by the consortium it headed, which included South Korea's Daewoo Development Company and West Germany's Dillinger Stahlbau, is reported to stand at \$785 million.

In April, Voest-Alpine was reported to have won a \$7.8 million contract to supply a vocational training centre to be linked to the Misrata steelworks. The centre will have a workshop, fully equipped with machine tools, and classrooms for 240 trainees. Work started in May, with completion scheduled in a year. The contract also provides for the Austrian firm to train 46 Libyans in Linz.

Japan's Kobe Steel has confirmed that it has a \$751 million contract for a steel bar and wire rod mill, a section mill and other facilities. The order includes delivery of desalination plants, oxygen generation plants, liquefied petroleum gas storage units, a test centre and the central supervisory and control centre. The company will also train Libyans to operate the plant, and will provide technical assistance after start-up in 1985.

In June it was reported that Kobe Steel has awarded a \$130 million sub-contract to South Korea's Samsung Construction Company, bringing the total value of the latter firm's work in the Jamahiriya to \$612 million.

British telecom success

IT WAS announced in early June that Britain's BICC Telecommunications Projects has contracts for extending the telephone network in Agedabiyeh and Zuara, and another to draw up plans for the extension of the Benghazi network. The three contracts are together valued at \$1.2 million.

The 1981-85 Libyan development plan envisages six telephones for every hundred residents by the end of the plan period. To meet this target, major telecommunications projects are under way throughout the Jamahiriya, but the UK company's contracts show that there is still scope for foreign firms in this lucrative market.

Boost for Libyan-Austrian ties

FOLLOWING A week-long visit to Austria by a ten-member Libyan delegation, the two countries on 26th June signed an agreement for co-operation in housing, agriculture, industry and power generation.

In February a consortium headed by Austria's Voest-Alpine won multi-million dollar contracts for the construction of the Jamahiriya's first steelworks, at Misrata, assuring the European country a key role in Libya's development programme. The co-operation agreement will open the way for wider participation by Austrian firms.

LAA opens Madrid office

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S national airline, Libyan Arab Airlines (LAA), has opened an office in Madrid's key commercial boulevard, Calle de la Princesa, *Middle East Economic Digest* reported on 3rd July. The manager is Mr S A Tagouri. LAA operates a Tripoli to Madrid service, via Algiers, on Thursdays and Saturdays.

New port for Sirte

IN JUNE the tender was issued for the construction of a new port at Sirte, at about the mid-point of Libya's coastline. The project will entail excavation and dredging, and the construction of breakwaters, quays and jetties. Sirte is one of the Libyan coastal cities being developed into major industrial centres in a bid to diminish the Jamahiriya's dependence on crude oil exports.

Ever since Libya began earning high oil revenues she has been spending enormous sums developing her land, sea and air transport systems. Port construction has been of particular importance in view of the high volume of imports flowing into the Jamahiriya to meet the needs of her ambitious development programme. The new ports are also of increasing importance as outlets for the Jamahiriya's growing exports of manufactures from her own new industrial plants.

In another development in the field of maritime transport, the charter of a new Turkish-Libyan maritime company, with a capital of \$40 million, was signed in Istanbul on 12th June. The post of general manager of the new venture will alternate between Turkish and Libyan officials every three years.



An irrigation plant near Tripoli provides water to agricultural projects in the area.

Success for Turkish construction firms

FORTY-TWO Turkish firms and more than 70,000 Turkish workers are helping in Libyan development projects, the Secretary of the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Bureau said in June. A feature of Libya's development schemes is the high degree of participation by firms from the Third World, and companies from Turkey are playing a key role.

The continuing success of Turkish construction companies in the Libyan market was underlined by the disclosure in June that two Istanbul-based companies have won contracts with a combined value of \$502 million for housing schemes in the Jamahiriya. The Ankara daily *Ebawnewsletter* reported that the Kastel Insaat construction company has won a \$400 million contract to build housing and social

facilities in the Jamahiriya, while Soytaş Holding has been awarded a \$102 million contract by Tobruk Municipality to build 1,270 homes, 21 primary and secondary schools and six municipal auditoria.

Cyprus receives major clothing order

LIBYA HAS placed a \$9 million order with Cypriot clothing manufacturers, it was announced in June, highlighting the Jamahiriya's significance as a market for consumer goods. The order followed a visit to Libya by a 34-man team from the Cypriot clothing industry.

Last December the Jamahiriya placed another major clothing order, on that occasion with British companies. The £17 million contract brought the UK's clothing exports to Libya last year to £30 million, and there were reports that the figure could double this year.

Last year the Jamahiriya

bought from Cyprus clothing valued at \$21.4 million, accounting for almost one third of the island's total clothing exports.

Two other orders placed overseas this year also underline the Jamahiriya's importance to exporters of consumer goods. In March it was reported that Britain's Fleur Beauty Products had won a \$370,000 contract to supply bubble bath and shampoo. The firm has put its 112 workers on overtime to meet the order.

In May it was disclosed that South Korea's Cosmo Enterprise Company had won a sales contract to supply \$20 million worth of various goods annually. The firm already had a \$13 million order for clothing, machinery and other goods.

Taiwan wins industrial contracts

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's commitment to rapid industrialisation is highlighted by the allocations

for industrial projects in the new \$62.5 billion five year development plan for the 1981-85 period. \$13,508.9 million has been earmarked for industry — a higher sum than for any other sector, and accounting for 23 per cent of total plan expenditure.

Contracts for two light industrial plants were recently won by the Taiwanese firm Taiwan Ferrostaal International Corporation, *Reuter* reported on 3rd June. George Tan, Ferrostaal's President, told *Reuter* that the contracts are together worth \$14 million and are for a shoe factory and an iron wire products plant, both to be set up in the town of Sebha, deep in the south west of the Jamahiriya.

Tripoli water project gets underway

JUNE SAW the launch of the master plan for Tripoli's water supply system with the award of three contracts, together worth more than \$111 million, for work on the first stage of the scheme. The largest contract, valued at \$103 million, was won by West Germany's Philip Holzmann and provides for the construction of a wellfield and forwarding pipeline, a 4,000 litre per second pumping station, service reservoirs with a combined capacity of 120,000 cubic metres, and 27 kilometres of 600-1,200 millimetre diameter trunk distribution pipeline in the eastern part of the Libyan capital.

Throughout the Libyan Jamahiriya, urban development schemes have been pressed forward vigorously since the 1969 Revolution in an effort to improve the standards of living of the Libyan people, the majority of whom live in urban areas. Water distribution networks have been key components of these projects.

The second contract, worth \$4.2 million, was won by the Jamahiriya's Al Fateh Construction Company, and calls for the installation of 14 kilometres of 500 millimetre diameter pipeline which will carry up to 10,000 cubic metres per day of distilled water from the Tripoli power station to the municipal water distribution system.

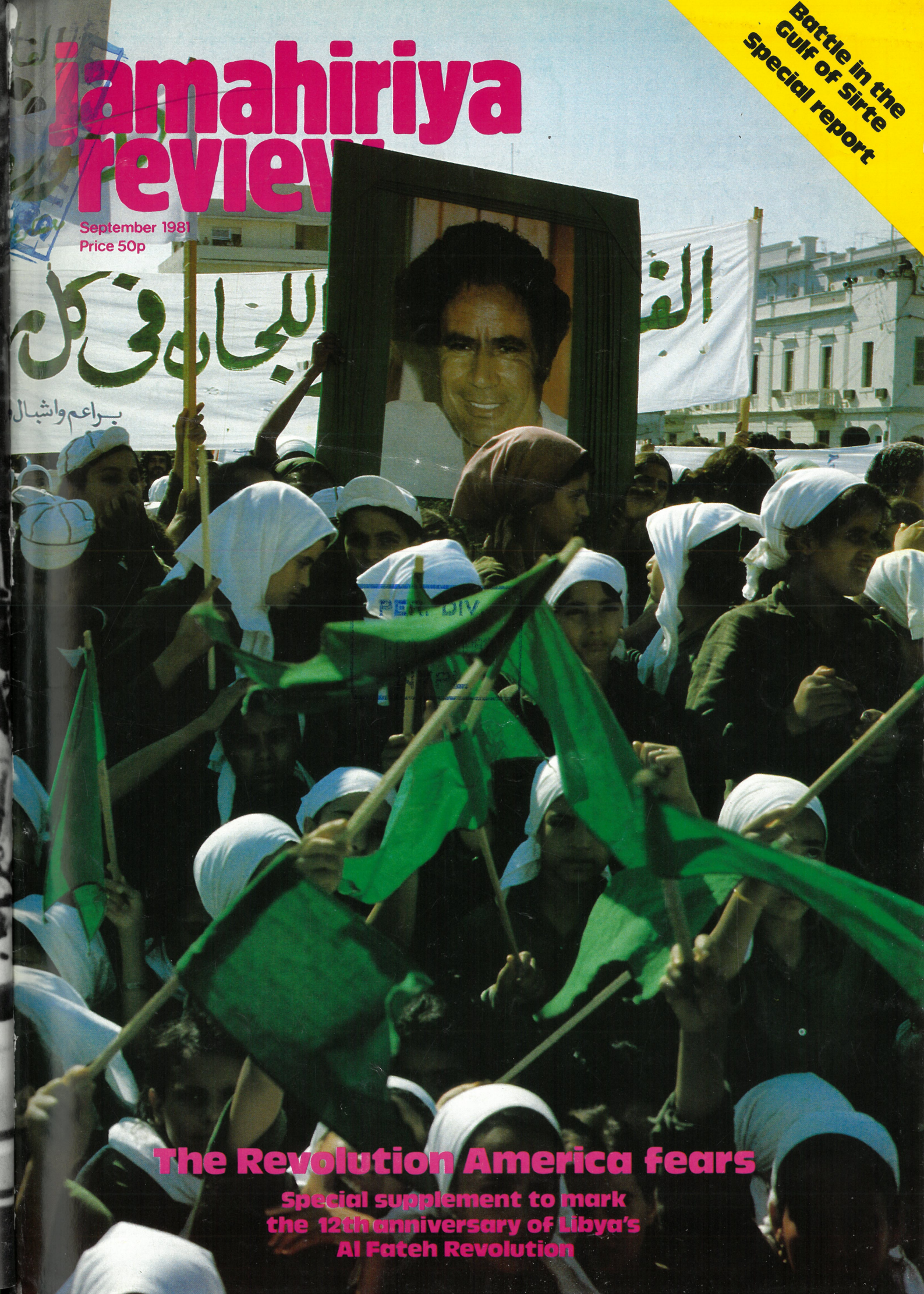
Yugoslavia's Geosonda won the third contract, also valued at \$4.2 million. The firm is to drill 80 wells south of Tripoli, which will together yield 60,000 cubic metres of water per day.

The Tripoli water master plan was prepared by Pencol Engineering Consultants of London. Client for all three contracts was the Tripoli municipality.



Also in this issue:

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